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ABSTRACT

This volume contains the proceedings and the papers of the first national conference on the life, influence, and the role of the Chinese in the U.S. The proceedings include papers, films, slide presentations, and addresses. Among the topics covered by the papers presented are the following: (1) contributions of Chinese art to Fresno culture, (2) the Cantonese opera, (3) conflict and contact between the Chinese and indigenous communities in San Francisco, (4) Chinese Americans in politics, (5) the influence of the Chinese on United States history, (6) textbook bias, (7) the origins of Chinese immigration in the U.S., (8) discrimination against the Chinese in the U.S., (9) the role of Chinese women in the West, (10) an economic profile of Chinese Americans, (11) federal funds for Chinese American projects, (12) opportunities in professional education for Chinese Americans, and (13) a description of a curriculum kit for understanding Chinese Americans. (Author/AM)

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The Life, Influence and the Role of the Chinese in the United States, 1776-1960

Proceedings/Papers of
the National Conference
held at The University of
San Francisco
July 10, 11, 12, 1975

Sponsored by the
Chinese Historical Society of America

A Bicentennial Observance
Endorsed by the
American Revolution
Bicentennial Administration
and the San Francisco
Twin Bicentennial, Inc.

華人在美生活及其影響

一七七六年至一九六〇年

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**Partial list, revised for the Proceedings.*

[The following was printed in the Program which was provided to each registrant during the conference in July 1975. Most of this material was included in the original conference announcement distributed in July 1973. It is reprinted here to provide the background for the conference and its hope for the future.]

WELCOME!

Welcome to the first national conference on the history of the Chinese in America. It was our great pleasure to be invited by the national American Revolution Bicentennial Administration in 1972 to help observe the 200th birthday of our country. It crystallized our desire to help spread interest about the Chinese in America to the entire continent. It gave us the needed impetus to start planning this conference and the Society proceeded to implement a plan into reality which today reaches fruition. We are looking forward to joining hands with you to make this a most successful affair. We hope the conference can be the catalyst to bring about greater cooperation and coordination in this field of history which has lain dormant for so long.

Doubling our pleasure is the occasion of the Twin San Francisco Bicentennial, which coincides with the ARBA year: 1976. Chinese emigration to these shores focused on the "Gold Mountain" in the 19th century, and gold provided the reason for the exodus of our early pioneers from China. Their destination was San Francisco. Today we participate in observing the San Francisco Bicentennial as well.

It is therefore a double pleasure for the Society to accept the recognition and the endorsement of both the city and national administrations.

THE REASON FOR THIS CONFERENCE

During the past two decades, there has been a significant growth in the awareness of the role in, and contribution to, the American way of life by the Chinese in America. It is ironic that such conclusions should be reached only within the past several decades. Researchers and historians began to discover not long ago that the history of the Chinese in America is buried under a "shield" of anti-Chinese hostility which persisted even through World War II. This "shield" can be illustrated by the dearth of literature available on the Chinese. A search of the literature of the history of California and the American West from the 1800's until the present time will reveal that the word "Chinese" is rarely to be found in such indices. Additionally, Chinese language documents relating to such history have been largely overlooked. It is rare indeed to find an American historian of Caucasian ancestry conversant in the Chinese language or able to research Chinese-printed sources.

Chinese-Americans intrigued by their own history in the United States were, until recently, few in number. This is attributed to the fact that Chinese (like their Caucasian counterparts in the U. S. public schools) are being taught that the Chinese only built railroads, panned for gold, or operated restaurants and laundries. Few had reason to suspect a more significant historical past.

The demand since the late 1960's for ethnic history courses in colleges and universities has turned the attention of many new researchers to the subject of the Chinese in America. The Chinese Historical Society sponsored a day-long seminar for educators on this subject in April, 1969 at which over two hundred and fifty persons attended. *A History of the Chinese in California*, a 90-page syllabus, prepared for the seminar, has gone through five printings to date, and in retrospect seems a very meager tool for a topic which has expanded a dozen times over. Today the need for this history is stronger than ever as research continues to open new vistas in this field.

A few short years ago, the Chinese in America were merely given some credit for the "labor" in the building of the first transcontinental railroad in the 1860's. Historians now realize that they contributed skills in more varied operations.

In the production of shoes, lamps, furniture, carriages, and many other articles of common manufacture, the Chinese learned these skills with rare speed and contributed much in the mid-19th century to the development of these light industries in many states ranging from Massachusetts to California.

It was the Chinese, too, who began the commercial fishing industry on the West Coast of the United States. For much of the latter 19th century, Chinese supplied major cities from California to Washington with shrimps, salmon, and abalone. Chinese contributions to American agriculture are staggering, though again little documented until recently.

In more recent years, Chinese in America have made impressive contributions in the fields of physics, engineering, chemistry, politics, biochemistry, hormone research, literature, art, architecture, and finance.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Society in planning for the first "National Conference on the Life, Influence, and the Role of the Chinese in the United States . . . " are as follow:

1. For the first time, nationally, to discuss together the influence and contributions of Chinese who have been in the United States between the years 1776-1960.
2. To encourage the study, research and development of papers on the subject.
3. To disseminate information on studies in process in the various fields, and to act as an informal clearing house for information available.
4. To continue the work beyond the period of the Bicentennial Observance, as long as interest in the field remains.
5. To augment and retain consultants to and beyond the conference as a voluntary body to advise and consult in their field of expertise.

RESULTS AND BENEFITS

Researchers from diverse fields related to the Chinese in America may at last be drawn together through the first "National Conference on the Life, Influence, and the Role of the Chinese in the United States." Scholars, historians, teachers, students, and large segments of the Chinese-American population will finally be able to share the results of research and the common knowledge retained by elderly Chinese.

Through press coverage, the publicity attendant with the conference has focused on the role of the Chinese in the United States and suggesting thereby that the Chinese have, indeed, played a great part in the fulfillment of the American dream. This aspect of the life of the Chinese in America has been denied them until recently because they, as a group, have been so excluded and ignored in history and literature. The stereotyped 19th Century Chinese image will be sharply brought back into focus.

Proceedings of the conference will be published in bound volumes. Additionally, other papers submitted, but not presented will be edited and published as monographs. The conference will help identify researchers, and scholars who contributed to the conference will serve as a pool of resource persons, as possible lecturers, writers or backup authorities for schools, the printed media and television.

The long-range outcome of such a conference may be even more critical to the Chinese in America and the preservation of American ideals. For the first time, many non-Chinese as well as young Chinese will be realizing that the Chinese have, and always have had, an enormous stake in the building of the United States. Young Chinese, who have all but ignored their past, will awake to the potential for research and specialization as historians of their own ethnic background.

This Conference with its many contributions by participants will help to bond more firmly the divergent Oriental heritage that is also a part of America. Often ignored and forgotten, this ethnic minority urgently needs exposure now. Just in the past generation the contributions of the Chinese in America have furnished proof positive that their entry into the whole spectrum of American endeavor has enhanced this country's research and development potential.

BACKGROUND

The Chinese Historical Society of America is a non-profit organization founded in 1963 by Thomas W. Chinn and four co-founders: C. H. Kwock, Chingwah Lee, H. K. Wong and Thomas W. S. Wu, D.D.S.

The organization also operates a small museum in San Francisco's Chinatown at 17 Adler Place. Both the museum and organization operate with volunteers only; there is no paid staff. It is well known in California and surrounding states. Many of the libraries, both municipal and university, are members. Membership in the Society spans the continent and ranges from many university professors, historians, writers, to senators, judges, and a large cadre of teachers from elementary to college level.

Since its inception, the Chinese Historical Society of America has received the unqualified approval and support of the Chinese and Chinese communities throughout the state. In its various undertakings the Society has also received the cooperation and assistance of leading organizations. Some of these are: California Historical Society, Conference of California Historical Societies, and the Society of California Pioneers. State and national figures have also endorsed the Society and its purpose. At its Tenth Anniversary in 1973, resolutions honoring the Society came from both the City of San Francisco and the State of California.

In sponsoring this Conference, the Society hopes to lay the groundwork for creating greater participation in exploring the history of the Chinese in America.

—THOMAS W. CHINN, *President*

* * *

HOSPITALITY CENTER

C.A.C.A. AUDITORIUM, 1044 STOCKTON STREET, SAN FRANCISCO
(Between Washington and Jackson Streets)

Through the courtesy of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance Grand Lodge, the auditorium and facilities of their Grand Lodge was made available to Conference members, their families and friends during the Conference. It was manned by Society members and friends.

A POST-CONFERENCE MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN

The first national conference on Chinese history in the United States has come and gone. The exhilaration and honor of being a part of the Bicentennial experience however, is still with us in this 200th anniversary of our nation.

When the first planning sessions for the conference were held in late 1972, the expectations for a meaningful activity were great. We had nearly three years to publicize the event nationally, and give writers a chance to prepare their papers in depth and in variety. There would be time to develop new research, and provide new areas of Chinese activity. Then too, there would be time to explore the hitherto vague beginnings of the Chinese in colonial America. However, as year followed year, and funding prospects dwindled, hopes also diminished. The final few months prior to the July conference was fraught with big decisions. The final one: whether to continue to hold the event—or not. The turning point actually occurred when two major problems resolved themselves: (1) Funding: Our finance committee turned from seeking foundation and federal sources to that of contributions from friends and the general public; (2) the chairmen and speakers all voluntarily waived their travel and expense vouchers, and each made his own arrangements for attending the conference.

In the face of such magnanimity, the Committee decided to hold the conference. What happened is now history. Those attending largely approved the program, in spite of the obvious imbalance of speakers and opportunities for audience dialogue.

With little or no publicity across the continent (because of the limited budget), we still received a good representation that exceeded 350, with overall attendance well over the 400 mark.

It may be well, at this time, to make some observations and endeavor to answer some of the questions that posed themselves during the conference.

During initial planning, the title and purpose of the conference was considered carefully. This being for a bicentennial year, and the conference a bicentennial activity, much has since been made on why the conference subject period ended with 1960. One would have to have a working knowledge of Chinese history in America to realize that, up to the early part of the 1960's, exclusion of Chinese was still public law—albeit crumbling around the edges in the prior decades. It was not until October 3, 1965, that the last vestiges of these exclusion laws were lifted by a stroke of the President's pen.

With the repeal of these laws, a new chapter in Chinese-American history came into being. In 1969, this writer penned the introduction to the Society's Syllabus: "A History of the Chinese in California," in which the following observation was made:

". . . The increased number of new immigrants is causing much revision in the social, economic and political life of the Chinese in America. A new chapter of that history will unfold as newcomers attempt to make the adjustments necessary to enter the mainstream of community life. Naturally their old-world customs, habits and outlooks will cling to them until they adjust to the new environment. Until then, such organizations as the Chinese family, district and tong associations, and other social groups, will feel the increased tempo of activity. And there will be greater reason than ever before for the existence of Chinatowns.

"Historically speaking, the nineteenth-century Chinese type of pioneer has passed on. The mold from which he was cast, and all that he represented and all that he endured in his day, is no more. It would be hard to visualize the present immigrant faced with the trials and tribulations of his predecessors of a century—or even of a half-century, ago."

It was felt that the last fifteen years (1960-1975) could well be called "contemporary history," and that emphasis should be placed on the first 185 years of our history—or as much of that history as we could—under the circumstances, receive. The period since 1960 should be a more complete chapter of Chinese-American history contained in one publication, and not a fragmented portion incomplete by itself.

As the conference date drew closer, many adjustments were necessary, i.e., to work within our financial means; to arrange the program for the convenience of our many chairmen and speakers; to provide staff and coordinate all activities into a cohesive whole; to correspond with our registrants and speakers; receive and edit papers and pass on material relevant to the conference theme; fit them into the time frame, and in general, to provide a meaningful program of historical benefit to all.

We come now to the papers that follow on these pages. The publication editors felt that each paper had some merit in that it focuses on a particular subject and provides good food for thought. In addition, nearly all of the papers are original, seeing print for the first time. Here again, some background knowledge of Chinese-American history is beneficial to more fully appreciate the papers. A couple of illustrations might serve to explain this:

Robert A. Nash's "The 'China Gangs' in the Alaska Packers Association Canneries" covers quite thoroughly for the layman the operations of the fish cannery operations over a period covering nearly a half-century. It goes into the economics that impelled a good-sized work force to make the trek to Alaska annually. The work was hard, the hours long, and many of these cannery workers never came back from this seasonal work—they were buried there—victims of the period and circumstances that dictated so little employment opportunities for the ethnic minority. For nearly a century, the subject of the Alaska fish canneries drew hushed stories of the long hours, brutally demanding the maximum effort from each man; the reluctance of men to sign up for another year. And yet, when faced with no other work opportunities, some of these men have had to continue. Thus, however meager their earnings, those earnings meant a great deal to an individual and to a ghettoed community. Gradually, to nearly all Chinese, the company image grew into a Christmas Scroggin, the heartless, selfish man. It took Robert Nash a long time to put together from official records the story we have here. It is the first, and as far as we know, the only story of its kind ever written on the subject. It helps one to understand some of the hardships and gambles endured by both employer as well as employee and goes a long way toward more accurately portraying the picture of this activity which became a famous, though clouded, chapter of Chinese-American history.

This paper represents the last story to be written by Dr. Nash. He has for years contributed greatly to our knowledge of Chinese fishing and watercraft in this country. Early this year, Dr. Nash passed away.

Professor Lo Hsiang-lin's two Chinese presentations contribute to our knowledge of the immense importance of Chinese-American history. Yung Wing, the first Chinese college graduate, made possible the education of over 100 Chinese youths sent to America. One of these youths was Sir Chentung Liang Cheng. Nearly all of the other young men later left their mark in shaping the history of China and Chinese-American relations. It is such material that puts the stamp of validity on the first conference. It is true that this is but a beginning, and that much more remains to be uncovered.

Hopefully, these first papers will provide an incentive for others to take up the challenge and in time, provide the missing portions of the jigsaw puzzle that is so incomplete. We may blame the many factors of the past for our missing history, but we can only blame ourselves if we cannot now, in today's climate, work together to prove that we have, indeed, contributed much in the past, and can do even more in today's world. But the latter is history still in the making.

When this conference was first publicly announced in 1973, it included a paragraph as follows:

> "In general, it is hoped that wherever the Chinese have materially left their mark in this country, this conference will become the catalyst that will bring forth its history. Such other fields as the sciences, government, women, in fact, any other interest can be the subject for exploration. It is also expected that knowledgeable persons on each subject will be called upon to volunteer their expertise in the 3-day session. . . . It is hoped that an informal panel of volunteers will be selected to serve this phase of research coordination under the general ongoing administrative care of the Chinese Historical Society of America. In this fashion, an informal clearing house can be established to provide continuing assistance to libraries and schools and to help researchers, writers and historians as well as the general public

in this field of history."

In this endeavor, we should not overlook the job of coordination. In the course of the last few years, many persons have written to the Society asking for assistance on a particular subject—and we find that elsewhere, others are similarly engaged. It is in the hope of avoiding duplication of effort that some thought should be devoted to *coordinating* such work.

Some persons are not familiar with the role of the Society. We take this opportunity to print the following from the Constitution announcing its purpose:

> "To establish, maintain and operate a scientific, literary and educational organization;
>
> "To study, record, acquire and preserve all suitable artifacts and such cultural items as manuscripts, books and works of art or their facsimiles which have a bearing on the history of the Chinese living in the United States of America;
>
> "To establish a headquarters to enable the display of such items as are acquired;
>
> "To issue papers and publicity pertaining to the findings of the Society; and
>
> "To promote the contributions that the Chinese living in this country have made to their adopted land, the United States of America."

The Society is dedicated to this task, and every step that advances this preamble is a step we heartily endorse. We invite the contribution of both time and material by each person interested in our history.

History is not the sole domain of the qualified writer or historian. The subject demands the coordination of a team: the researcher, the transcriber, photographer, and in many cases in Chinese-American history, the translator and interpreter as well as the writer in Chinese.

And, somewhere, sometime, future historians may bring together all of the little pieces of Chinese-American history to form that ultimate history we strive to attain.

To the conferees who attended this first national conference, our thanks for working together to reach that initial milestone. Thanks, too, to all of the volunteers who worked so hard on the project. The publication of this book, therefore, is the Society's and friends' observation of our Bicentennial. In the period ahead, let us look for greater accomplishments when we meet again to compare notes. And who knows? Maybe the next time, whoever the sponsor may be, we can expect a greater, more perfect conference.

—THOMAS W. CHINN

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Karl Li, Ph.D., Education Program Specialist, Office of Bilingual Education, U.S. Office of Education, Washington.

Albert C. Lim, Merchant; formerly instructor in Mandarin, U.C. Berkeley; Past President, Chinese Hist. Soc. of America.

Lo Hsiang-lin, Honorary Professor for Life, University of Hong Kong; Director, Research Institute of Chinese Literature and History, Chu Hai College; Chairman, Chinese P.E.N. Centre of Hong Kong; Author.

Harry W. Low, California Superior Court Judge; BA, University of California, Berkeley; LLB, Boalt Hall, Univ. of California Law School, Berkeley; Municipal Court Judge, S.F.

John B. Lum, BS, University of San Francisco; Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley; author. Multi-Cultural & Bilingual Division, National Institute of Education, Dept. of H.E.W.

Edward C. Lydon, BA in History, U.C. Davis; MA in History of Asia, California State University, Sacramento; professor, Cabrillo College, Aptos; Chairman, Social Science Division.

Stanford M. Lyman, BA, MA, Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley; Professor and Chairman, Dept. of Sociology, The Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research, New York; author.

Chih Meng, Director Emeritus, China Institute in America, New York.

Robert A. Nash, Ph.D., University of California Los Angeles; authority on Chinese Fishing and Watercraft; author.

S. Michael Opper, BA, University of Connecticut; MA, Columbia University; Ph.D., California Institute of Asian Studies;

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME PARTICIPANTS

(Continued)

Professor, Art-History, California State University, Fresno.

Ronald Riddle, MA in Music, San Francisco State University; Ph.D. candidate, Musicology, University of Illinois; Asst. Professor, New College, Sarasota, Florida.

Ward Sinclair, Ph.D., Deputy Commissioner, U.S. Office of Education, New York.

Annie Soo, BA, Fresno State University; journalist and public relations specialist; teacher, Richmond public schools.

Irma Tam Soong, MA, Mills College, Oakland; Executive Director, Hawaii Chinese History Center.

Kevin Starr, City Librarian, San Francisco; BA, University of San Francisco; MA, Harvard Univ.; Ph.D., Harvard Univ.; MLS, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley; author.

John Wesley Stephens, AB in History, Stanford University; currently at U.C.-L.A. Law School.

Betty Lee Sung, BA, University of Illinois; MLS, Queens College of City Univ. of New York; Phi Beta Kappa; Asst. Professor, City College of New York; author.

Mrs. William Z. L. Sung, Graduate of Oberlin College, 1921; taught Chemistry and Biology, St. Johns Univ., Shanghai.

George M. Williams, Ph.D., University of Iowa; Asst. Professor Dept. of Religious Studies, California State Univ., Chico.

Jo Ann Williamson, Chief, Archives Branch, Federal Archives and Records Center, National Archives and Records Service, San Bruno, Calif.

Anna Wong, BA University of California, Berkeley; MA California State University, San Francisco; Teacher with S.F. Unified School District.

Brenda L. Wong, BA, University of Hawaii; MA Stanford University; MS, San Francisco State University; Instructor in Asian-American Studies, Yuba College, California.

Daniel D. Wong, BA and MA, San Francisco State University; Instructor in Asian American Studies, Yuba College, Calif.

H. K. Wong, Co-founder and past President, Chinese Historical Soc. of America.

Karen C. Wong, BA in Education, University of Washington; author; presently attending School of Librarianship, Univ. of Washington.

Terri Wong, student at San Francisco State University; participant, Asian Studies curriculum development.

Yuan-li Wu, BSc. (Economics), University of London; Ph.D., University of London; Former Consultant Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford; Consultant, Stanford Research Institute; Prof. of Economics, University of S.F.

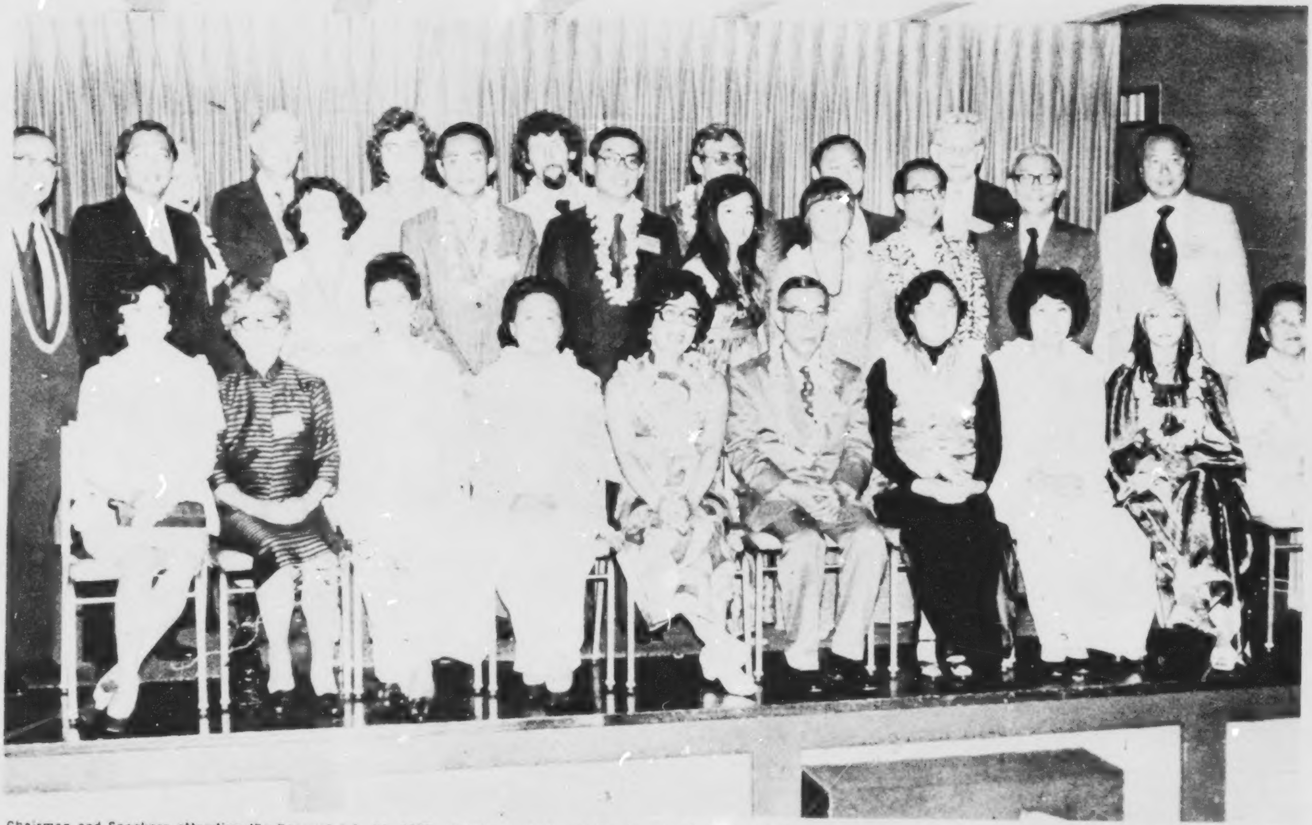
Albert H. Yee, Executive–Graduate Affairs; Dean of Graduate Studies and Research and Professor of Educational Psychology, Calif. State Univ., Long Beach; BA Univ. of Calif., Berkeley; MA Calif. State Univ., S.F.; Ed.D. Stanford Univ.; Post-Doctoral Research Training Fellowship, Univ. of Oregon; author.

Herbert K. Yee, D.D.S.; BA Stanford Univ.; D.D.S. Univ. of the Pacific; Regent, University of the Pacific; Member, Calif. State Board of Dental Examiners; 1974 U.S. Dentist of the Year.

Connie Young Yu, BA Mills College, Oakland, Calif.; Past Trustee, Mills College; Writer, *Dupont Guy* Collective.

It should be noted that some of the conduct of a true proceedings were omitted here, in order to publish the complete papers of the authors. It was felt that our readers would be more interested in the entire presentations than the brief periods allotted for audience dialogue and other miniscule matters.

The papers printed herein do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the Society.



Chairmen and Speakers attending the banquet July 11, 1975: (Front row, l. to r.) March Fong Eu, Mrs. Wm. Z. L. Sung, Robyn D. Gottfried, Lillie L. Lew, Betty Lee Sung, Lo Hsiang-lin, Annie Soo, Karen C. [illegible], Terri Wong, Elizabeth Abbott. (Standing, l. to r.) Thomas W. Chinn, Judge Harry W. Low, Robert A. Nash, Ronald Riddle, Corinne K. Hoexter, John W. Stephens, Loren B. Chan, Edward C. Lydon, Dean Albert H. Yee, Bettie Kan, S. Michael Opper, Irma T. Soong, Karl Li, John B. Lum, Ward Sinclair, Ira C. Lee, Herbert K. Yee, D.D.S.

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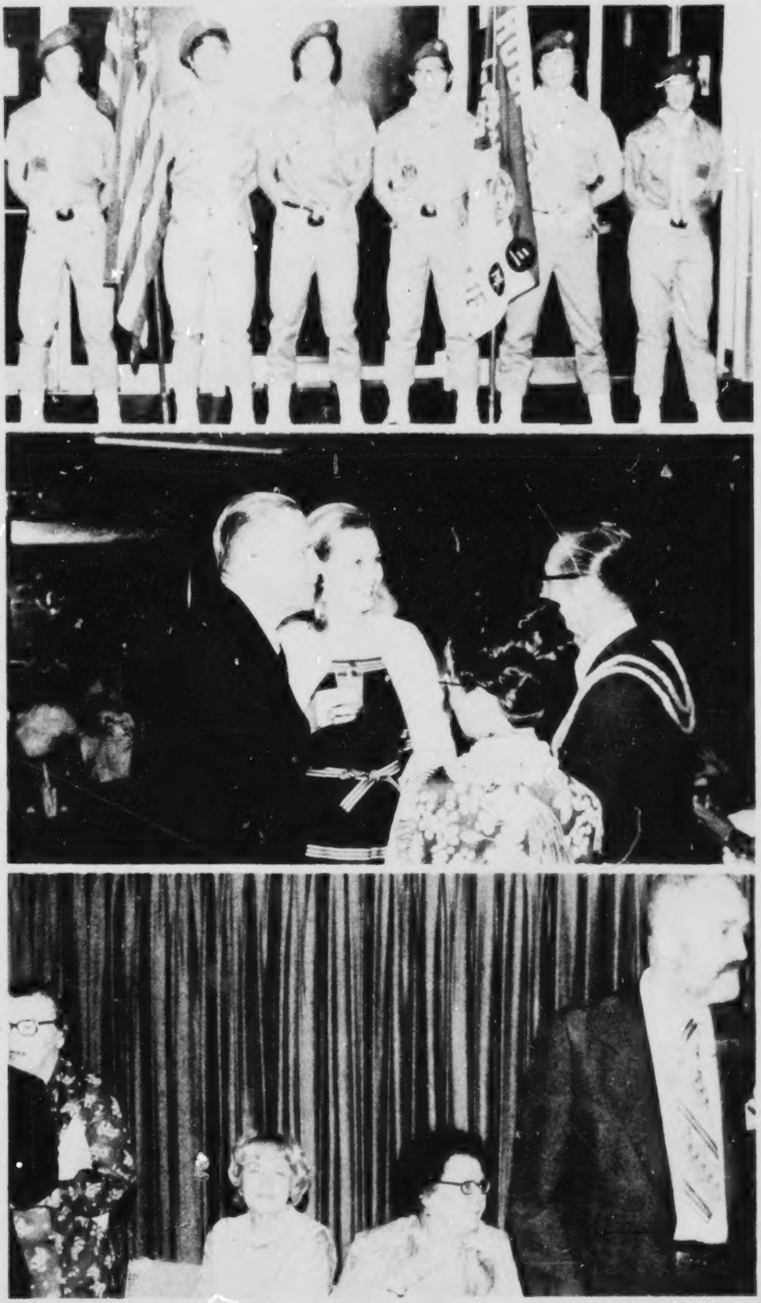
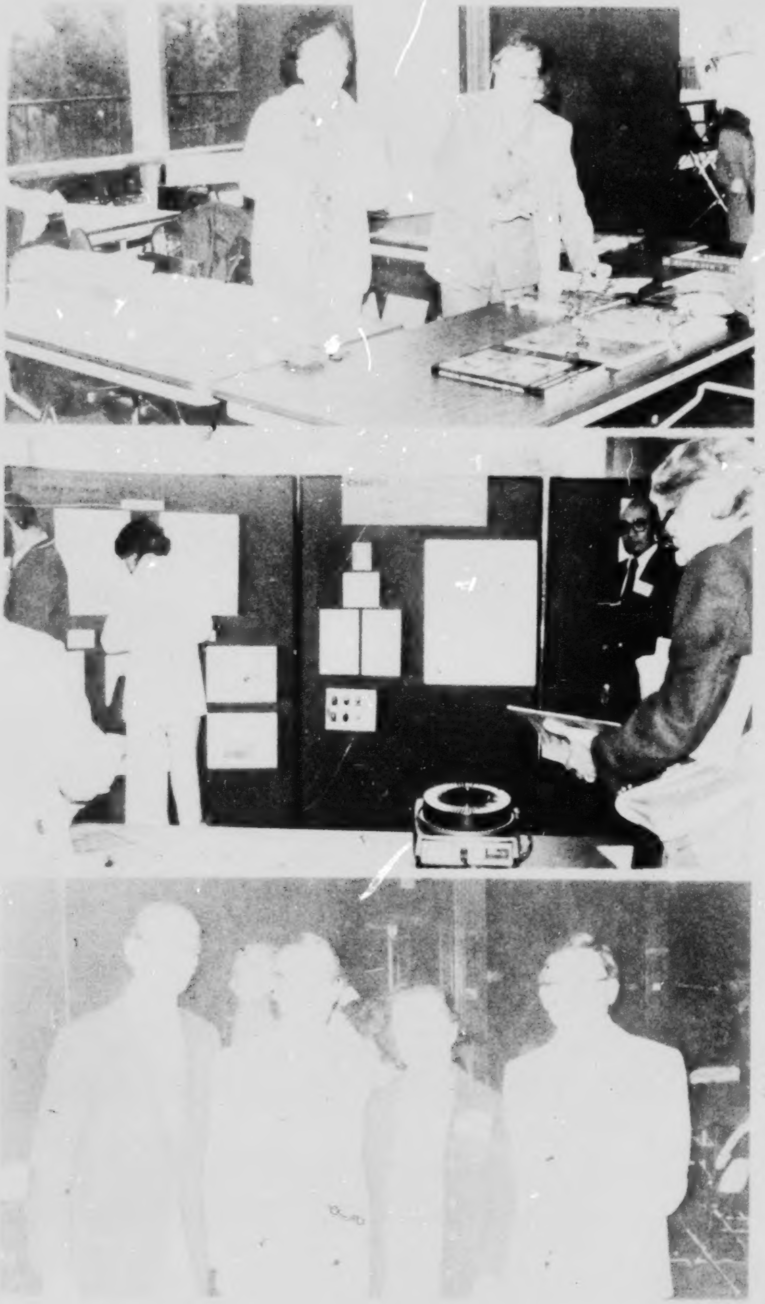
ESSAGES

(Top:) Registration and Banquet committees. (Back row:) Anna Wong, Doris Wong, Doreen Chan, Dorothy Wong, Pauline Lee. (Front row:) Daisy W. Chinn, Edna F. Chinn, Frances L. Chinn, Eileen Tong
(Center:) Registration Section and Information Center.
Scene of Registration and Banquet reservation activity.

(Top.) Mrs. Robert A. Nash registering. (Center.) Dr. Stanford M. Lyman. (Bottom.) Connie Young Yu



(Top:) Color Guard, oldest active Chinese Boy Scout troop in the world (1914), Troop 3, San Francisco.
(l. to r.) Gregory Wong, Brad Lew, Michael Wong, Brian Ng, Glenn Chau, Lindsay Chu.
(Center.) Dr. Albert Shumate, Miss Joan Quigley, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Chinn.
(Bottom.) A banquet group (Mrs. Dorothy Ronald on viewer's right).



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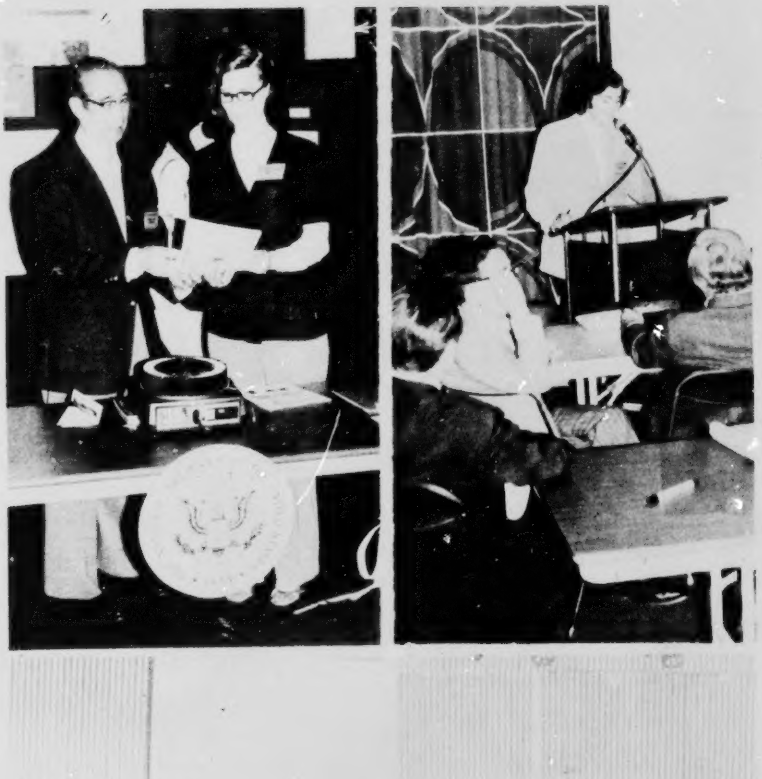
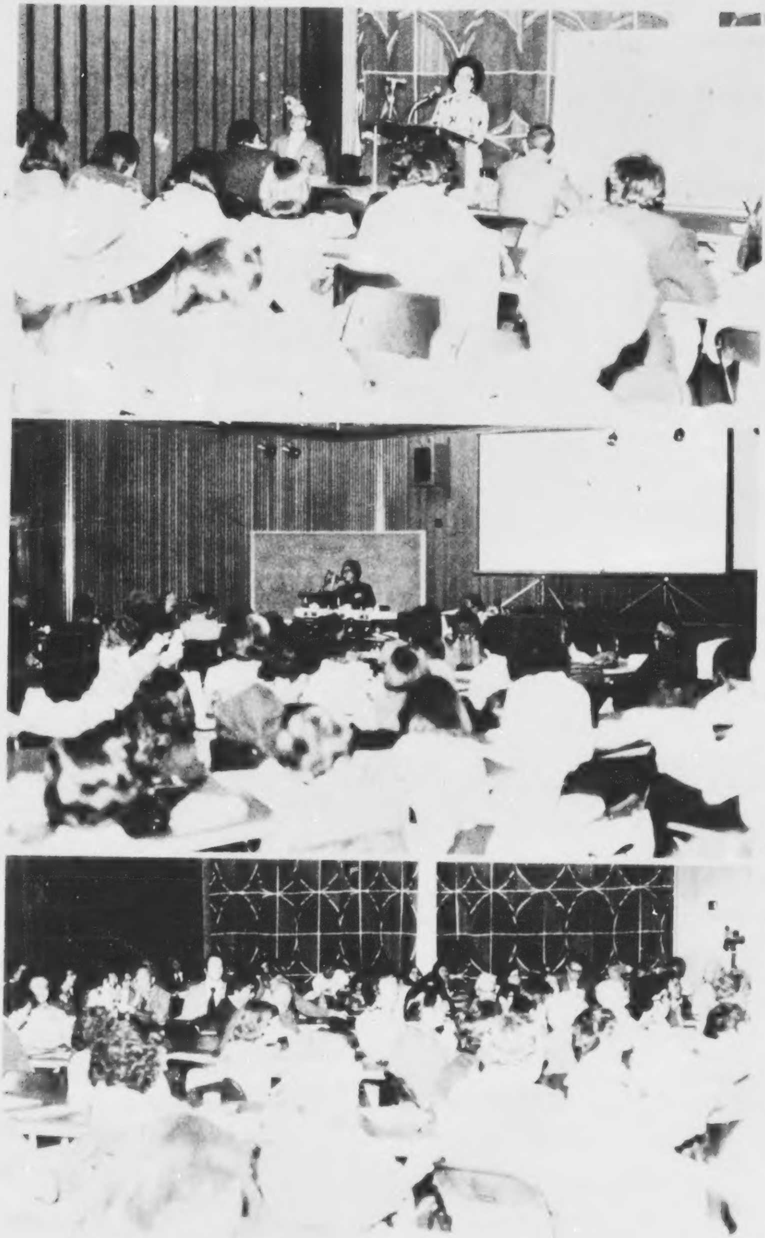


(Top left.) Chairman T. W. Chinn with Joann Williamson. (Top right.) John W. Stevens. (Bottom left.) Karl L. (right.) John Lum.

(Top) Dean and Mrs. Albert H. Yee; Col. William F. Strobridge. (Center) Registrar's section. (Bottom) Another view of a banquet.

(Top.) Mrs. William Z. L. Sung, with Chingwah Lee at podium. (Center.) Loren B. Chan, with Corinne K. Hoexter facing the audience. (Bottom.) View of audience.

(Top) Ronald Riddle (Center) Lillie Law (Bottom) Ira C. Lee for Robert G. Lee



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(Top.) H. K. Wong, Chingwah Lee with Calligrapher Wu Shu-chen presenting calligraphy to Society
(Center.) Herbert Yee, D.D.S., T. W. Chinn, Betty Lee Sung, Dean Albert H. Yee, John Lum
(Bottom.) Joann Williamson with registrant

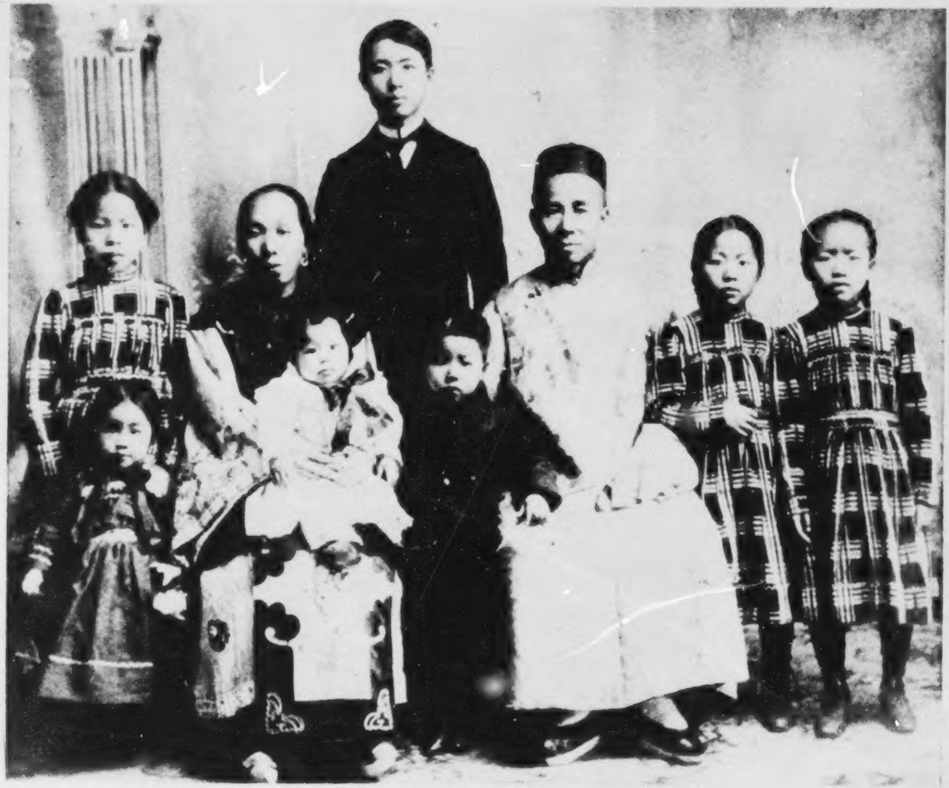
[illegible]

(Top.) Dr. Albert Shumate (S.F. Twin Bicentennial) at podium; to his left, Librarian Kevin Starr, keynote speaker, and Mrs. Anna Chennault, representing the White House and the national American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. (Center.) Edward C. Lydon. (Bottom.) A view of audience.

(Top) L. Eve Armentrout (Center) David R. Ching (Bottom) Annie Soo

(Top, left to right.) Mrs. Anna Chennault; Mrs. March Fong Eu; Thomas W. Chinn with Dr. Stanford M. Lyman. (Center.) Hawaiian contingent at Empress of China Restaurant banquet. (Bottom.) View of diners.

Top: Mrs. Anna Chennault at podium. Center: Audience at [illegible] enjoying presentation. Bottom: Head table at banquet, with Speaker Mrs. E. [illegible] and Master of Ceremonies Judge [illegible] (far right).



THE REV. ART SOO HOO FAMILY
SAN FRANCISCO, 1902

Left to right: Lily, (1899), Graduated Oberlin 1921.

Clara (Canton), Came to U.S. 1894, MA Education, U.C. Berkeley, Columbia.

Mother Quan Shee Soo-Hoo, came to U.S. 1894 with 4 children on ship *Argonaut*.

Lincoln (S.F.), MA Mining, Engineering, U.C., Berkeley.

Peter, eldest son (Canton), Civil Engineering, Stanford 1908, Univ. of Illinois, 1911.

Andrew (S.F.), Mech. Engr. U.C. Berkeley.

The Rev. Nam Art Soo-Hoo (Canton) (1855-1920), came to U.S. 1875.

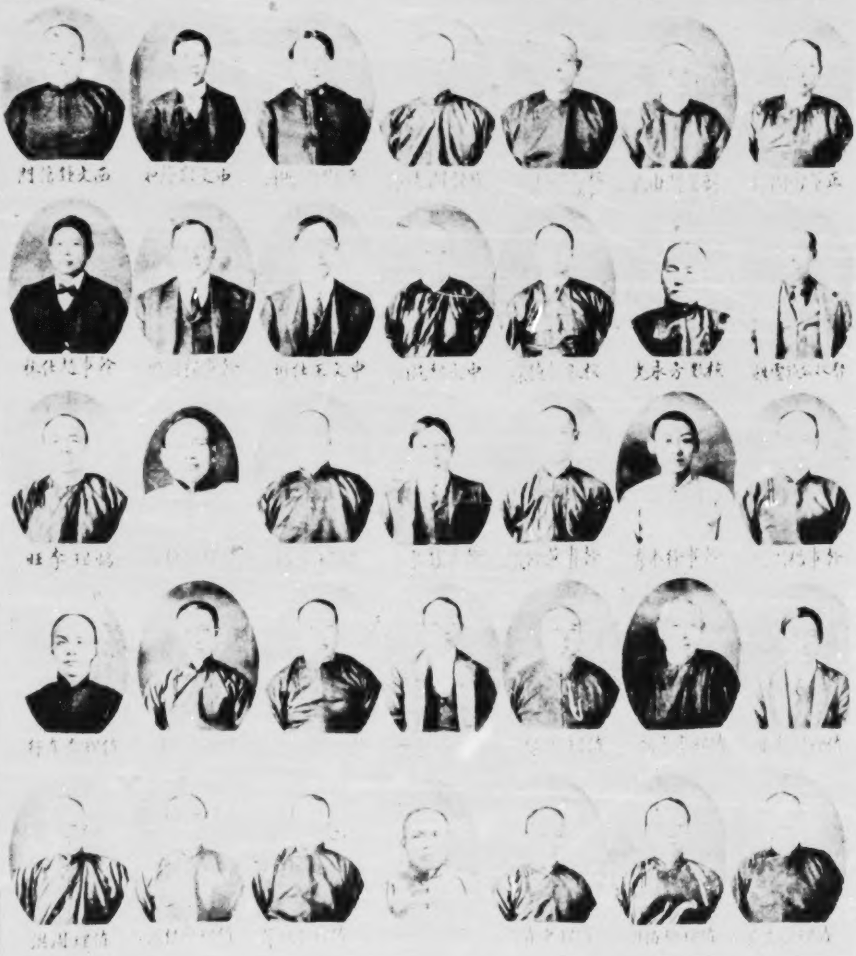
Pauline (Canton), Physical Ed., Sargent School, Cambridge, Mass., 1918.

Antoinette (Canton), MA Education, U.C. Berkeley; Univ. of Michigan.

[Paper on page 287.]

市那保皇會增照董值真像

CHINESE EMPI
REFORM
OF FRESNO, CALIF



光緒叁拾壹年美國斐

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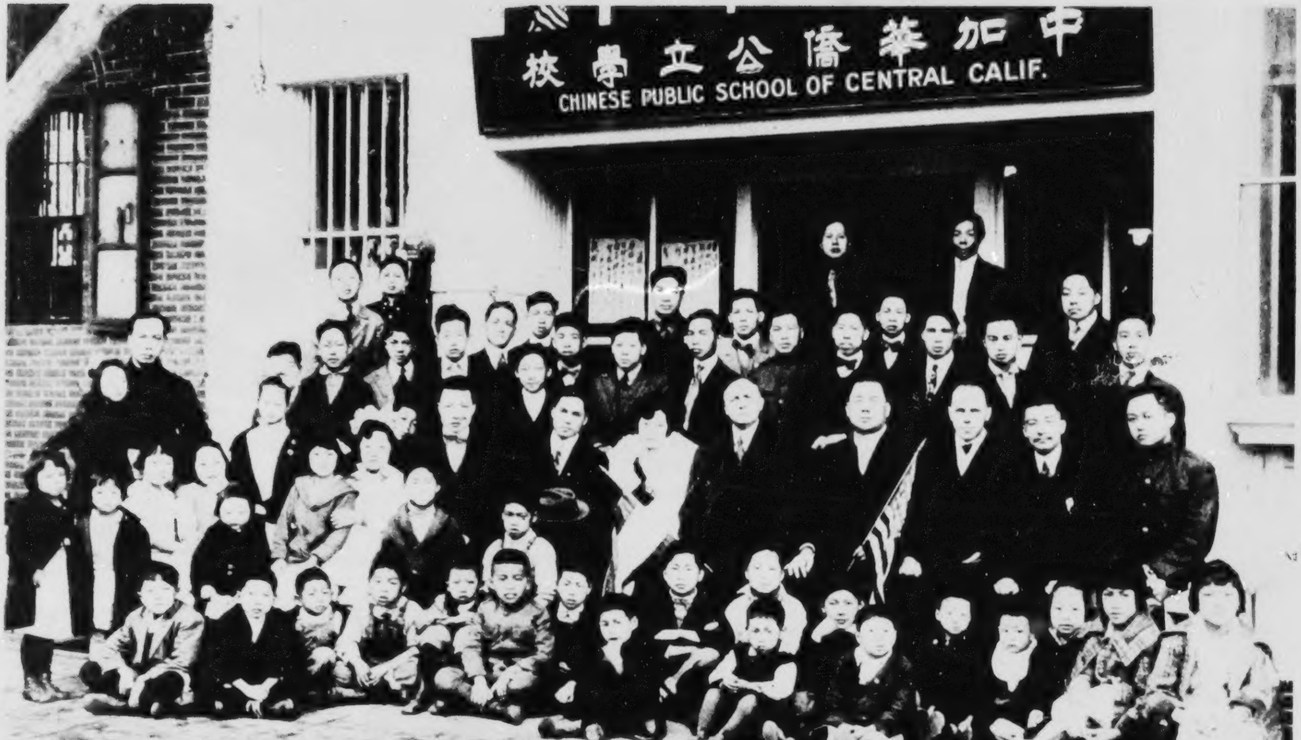
中加華僑公立學校
CHINESE PUBLIC SCHOOL OF CENTRAL CALIF.

Chinese Public School of California (Fresno around 1921).

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1975

8:00-12:00 noon – Registration.

9:00-9:30 a.m. – Entry of Flag: Troop Three, Boy Scouts of America, S.F.
Pledge of Allegiance.

THOMAS W. CHINN:

Good Morning. My name is Thomas Chinn. On behalf of the Chinese Historical Society, may I welcome you to this, our first National Conference. There are just a few announcements we have to make before the formal program begins.

Our color guard this morning are members of Boy Scouts of America, Troop 3, an all-Chinese Scout troop. It was organized in 1914, just 4 years after the Scouting movement started in America. We believe it is the first Chinese Boy Scout troop in the world. That's why we are particularly proud of it. I am also proud of the fact that I have been a continuous member of this same troop since 1921.

To orient ourselves, this particular room is Room 250. The one just next to us is 251. All of the sessions will be held in these two rooms, which will be separated by folding doors. You may choose the session you wish to attend, and just feel free to pass back and forth between sessions.

Those teachers who are taking the 3.3 program to further their knowledge and teaching skills who want the second unit of credit will have to write a brief report following the conference in order to get both unit credits. So please bear this in mind and check again with the registrar in this room.

Regarding this conference and the planning which led to our presence here: because there were so many imponderables, we found ourselves wondering whether we were going to have 50 or 500 or 1,000 people attending. It posed a great many problems. Finally, we decided we should select a place that would be flexible enough to accommodate all who came.

As we go into the seminar rooms we want to emphasize to the chairmen of the various sessions to bear in mind the time schedule. We must try to have all the sessions terminate about the same time. So we would appreciate your cooperation in trying to maintain the schedule printed in your program.

It is my great pleasure to announce that this conference has been endorsed by both the National Revolution Bicentennial Administration as well as the San Francisco Twin Bicentennial. In honor of this special occasion, we have invited representatives of both organizations to be with us today.

May I now present Mrs. Anna Chennault, a member of the board of the National Bicentennial Administration.

MRS. ANNA CHENNAULT:

Dr. Chinn, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, and friends from afar. I bring greetings from Washington, D.C., the White House and from ARBA [American Revolution Bicentennial Administration]. I'm very excited because so much has happened in the last few years. The Chinese have tried to accomplish so much and we have tried to catch up because we have lost so much time. Only recently—was it last year, Dr. Chinn, that we met in Washington, D.C.?—when Dr. Chinn told me about this meeting and I inquired about the conference. People coming to this type of meeting sometimes very seldom realize how much work and effort and time people responsible for this kind of meeting have to spend to make it work, to make it happen, to make it possible, particularly when you are running an organization where very little funding is available. I hope that in the future seminars of this nature get better national support. Not just spiritually, but financially.

Last night when Mrs. Chinn met me at the airport, she told me that many of the teachers volunteered their time to write letters, make name tags, and just do all kinds of work; and in fact, someone provided transportation and tried to pick up people at the airport. So there were all kinds of little work and big work that needed to be done before we could meet together. So for this I think we should be very appreciative of Dr. Chinn and his staff for being the first to hold such a conference. I hope that maybe in the future there will be more gatherings of this nature. Don't let other people do our work. I talk to people around various parts of this country, and I try not to address myself particularly to the Chinese because I think if the Chinese of this country want to be recognized for their accomplishments that we can move forward faster. We not only have to work together as a unit but we also need lots of support from others. I am honored and privileged to have this opportunity to bring greetings to all of you and wish you a very successful meeting. Again, Dr. Chinn, you and your helpers are to be congratulated for doing such a fine job. Thank you very much.

T. W. Chinn: Thank you very much, Mrs. Chennault. We deeply appreciate your kind words and greetings from our National Bicentennial headquarters and, as you say, from the White House. We look forward to hearing from you later this afternoon.

We also have a truly distinguished historian who is well known in the San Francisco Bay Area as well as throughout California. He has traveled back and forth until he knows not only historical sites, not only historical places but also individuals. He is chairman of the San Francisco Twin Bicentennial History Committee. It gives me great pleasure to introduce Dr. Albert Shumate.

DR. ALBERT SHUMATE:

I bring you greetings from the San Francisco Twin Bicentennial and a wish for an extremely successful conference.

I think for those out of San Francisco I might mention why we call it the Twin Bicentennial. It's not only the bicentennial of the United States but it's also the bicentennial of the beginning of San Francisco and thus we call it the twin bicentennial. We were very pleased to endorse this history conference and I also am pleased to mention that Thomas Chinn is a member of our History Committee of the San Francisco Twin Bicentennial. To those of you who live in San Francisco this need not be said, but to those who may come from afar I'd like to mention that Thomas Chinn is one of our fine historians in this area and also anyone who knows him will agree with this: he is truly one of our great gentlemen. We in San Francisco are very pleased that the headquarters of the Chinese Historical Society of America is located here. Personally, I have always been proud that I've been a long-time member of this Chinese Historical Society.

This is really the beginning of the events of our San Francisco Twin bicentennial and I think that there is no other event that we would be more proud of than this as the first major event. So I congratulate Mr. Chinn and all his committee for having this conference. Thank you.

9:30-10:15 a.m.

CHALLENGES FACING THE CHINESE-AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE FUTURE

Opening Address By

Kevin Starr

As a native San Franciscan, born and raised in the Richmond District, I am quasi-Chinese by assimilation, and proud of it: proud to live now side by side with a great people who have done so much to build the City of San Francisco and the State of California. Today, as you open this most important National Conference of the Chinese Historical Society of America, I would like to share with you a few off-the-cuff remarks regarding the focus and assumptions that might be shaping the Chinese historiography of the future.

History is a universal discipline, combining elements of both art and science, or, as Aristotle put it, combining realism and poetry. History assesses facts and quantifications; it also attempts the evaluation of myths, symbols, and the subtle processes of internal life, personal and communal: the way individuals and communities know themselves in time and in retrospect. You yourselves, meeting in this City, must feel in the presence of the more elusive aspects of historical memory. San Francisco's hills and streets must, for you, evoke an ancestral memory of hope, pain, struggle, success, and bitter disappointment from that time past, the 1850s and after, when you came here, working so hard, throwing rails across half a continent in a heroic feat of labor equalling the construction of the Great Wall. In the name, then, of the government of the City you helped to build and which you linked by rail to the rest of the Nation, I extend to you the official greetings of San Francisco.

For some time now, I have felt that we need a book on Chinese immigration analogous to Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted*, a work, that is, searching for the inner experience of those Chinese who came here in the nineteenth century, dealing with family life, personal histories, and based in diaries, letters, and dictated recollections. Professor Handlin was unafraid of going after the elusive parts of the Caucasian immigrant story. At times, in fact, he functioned as an epic poet, as much as an academic historian, weaving together strands of fact and elucidating metaphor in the manner of, say, Willa Cather in her descriptions of Central European and Slavic immigrants on the Great Plains. Francis Ford Coppola's "Godfather II," incidentally, had to it much of this same feeling in its marvelous evocations of Ellis Island and immigrant Italian urban life.

The assessment, furthermore, of Caucasian immigrant values, styles, and contributions to American culture has been an aim of academic history for the past quarter century. Underlying this historiography is an implicit Manifest Destiny. The focus is Caucasian and the movement is Westward. Its culminating moment in our literature was perhaps "The Song of the Redwood Tree" by Walt Whitman, in which an archetypal Caucasian immigrant stands on the shores of California, facing the East, realizing that the circle of the world has been encircled. Migration, Caucasian migration, is complete.

Yet what about movement from the other direction? What about Asian immigration eastward toward the rising sun? What were the internal forces that set that migration in motion? What thoughts of California – if any – had previously been in the Chinese consciousness?

California as a fact of Chinese experience, as a symbol in Chinese literature, as a place made Chinese by immigration: these are some of the things I have wanted to see studied by Chinese-American historians. Professor Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard once wrote that a Red Man will eventually write the great history of the Red Man in America. The same is true of the Chinese-American history I am talking about: it will be written from within – by a Chinese-American – as part of a larger forging of ethnic consciousness, as part of a total act of self-identity and liberation. History, finally, is both a study and a discipline – and an interior act of selfknowledge on the part of a people, by which they determine their own usable past.

This conference, if one were to judge from the talks planned, seems to be focusing on both internal and external history. The first – or emerging – phase of internal history has been characterized by anger: anger over prejudice, stereotypes, suppression, injustice. It takes its origins in the consciousness of the 1960s and has as its primary goal political definition and coherence. It seeks to locate and to exorcise pain. Even I – a non-Chinese – can yet feel some of that nineteenth-century pain, the resonances of a thousand lost acts of barbarity and exclusion. Even an outsider can feel its moral burden on the present.

The second phase of awareness (and of a consequent historiography) is of what was survived, endured, and accomplished. It focuses upon the elusive premises of accommodation and hope. The third phase – and this conference is in the third phase – sees the suffering people, the immigrants, as having suffered and endured – but also as having been significant protagonists in the larger American experience.

There are so many tasks to be accomplished and questions to be answered: about the Asian forces operating on Chinese immigration, about the internal organization of Chinese immigrants (especially their developed scheme of mutual assistance), about how the family survived for long femaleless years of loneliness, how railroad workers set themselves to their task as a matter of both engineering and organization. Did art and music survive? Who negotiated arrangements with the power elite? Was justice administered internally? Was a New World folklore devised?

Many of the conferences of this convention will be attacking such problems. The fullness of sources arrayed here in the talks bodes well for a rich sense of the Chinese-American story; for sources or source-selection, is historiography's first external act.

Also exciting is the emphasis upon individuals. Caucasian historians seem to see the Chinese only *en masse* or as nearly anonymous figures in a dim historical landscape. But you are rescuing individuals, by name, and by specific careers, men and women alike. The studies to be presented on the careers of two women dovetail, obviously, with today's feminism; yet the emphasis is not upon their suppression, but their expression: what they achieved for themselves and for others, in business and medicine.

Let us hope that this conference opens up a new era in Chinese-American historiography, one that will send Chinese-American scholars back to reassess the nineteenth as well as the twentieth century. In doing so, you will be enlarging our total sense of American culture. You will be funding into it an Asian formula now lacking. The very presence here of Commissioner Chennault of the National Bicentennial symbolizes the American aspects, the national aspects, of your quest for an understanding of your past. The great crowds which are now flocking to the exhibit of ancient Chinese art on exhibit at the Brundage Museum provide us encouragement in the matter of the ultimate universality of all human experience. Your history is also, in some very deep sense, my history; and my history is yours. From understanding can perhaps come reconciliation. Welcome to San Francisco, a City which wishes you the best for a lively conference.

10:15-10:30 a.m. Break.

10:30-11:45 a.m.

#1 – RESEARCH IN CHINESE-AMERICAN HISTORY

Chairman: Albert H. Yee, *California State University, Long Beach*

CHINESE STUDIES IN FEDERAL RECORDS

By

Jo Ann Williamson

The holdings of the National Archives in Washington and its eleven regional archives branches in the Federal Archives and Records Centers are records of the Federal Government which have been appraised as having their continuing use in the necessary processes of government, for the protection of both public and private rights, and for research use by scholars, students, and the general public. The regional archives in the San Francisco Archives and Records Center are accessioned from the non-current records created by Federal agencies in Northern California, Northern Nevada, Hawaii, and American Samoa. An important distinction exists between the two kinds of original records in the Federal Archives and Records Centers. The majority of the records stored are still in the legal custody of the originating agencies and the agency alone may grant access to the records. The records accessioned by the regional archives are in the legal custody of the National Archives. The records discussed here will come from this last category.

To find materials pertinent to a research topic in the Archives, it is always necessary that the Federal Government has a connection with the events, persons, subjects, or conditions about which the researcher seeks data. For example, the bulk of the California-related holdings are dated after 1846, the year the American flag was raised in Monterey. As we all know, the Chinese people have had a lengthy involvement with the Federal Government, and the Archives is rich in material for those interested in Chinese-American studies.

RECORDS OF THE U.S. DISTRICT COURTS

One of the most important collections we have at the San Francisco Archives Branch for the study of the Chinese people in the United States is the records of the United States District Courts. Circuit courts, in general, had jurisdiction over what are today called civil actions and they had appellate powers from the district courts. District courts had jurisdiction over admiralty, criminal, bankruptcy, and certain civil cases. After 1911 they assumed jurisdiction over the civil cases formerly heard by the circuit courts and the Circuit Court of Appeals assumed the circuit courts' appellate powers.

Each court created two forms of records: (1) bound volumes, reflecting the work of the court, such as dockets, minutes, orders, final records and indexes, which have generally been retained by the clerks of the courts, and (2) the documents for each individual case—subpoenas, briefs, pleadings, depositions, etc.

The San Francisco Archives Branch presently holds the records of the U.S. District Court, Northern District of California, 1851-1950 and the United States District Court, District of Nevada, 1865-1953.

ADMIRALTY CASES

After the passage of laws regulating or suspending Chinese immigration, each Chinese immigrant had to make a plea to enter the United States by way of a writ of habeas corpus in the Admiralty Court. The laws governing Chinese immigration and naturalization were quite complex and difficult to enforce. The bulk of the Admiralty cases between 1882 and 1902 are composed of Chinese cases involving the proceedings of a writ of habeas corpus.

The Exclusion Act of May 6, 1882, prohibited the importation of Chinese labor, but did allow teachers, students, travelers and merchants into the United States. Most of the Admiralty cases involved attempts of Chinese to prove they were merchants and thus gain admittance. For this purpose each defendant had to have a certificate issued either in the United States or China stating he was a merchant. Later, as other categories were allowed admittance, all Chinese were issued certificates which may be found in the Admiralty cases.

In 1883 and 1884, passports were issued in China to gain entrance. The passports were unusually large and gave the name, age, occupation, residence, height, complexion, color of eyes, physical peculiarities, official title (if any), and a photograph of the person holding the passport. In December 1883 and January 1884, there began to appear written testimony among the cases filed in which the immigrant attempted to prove previous residency by describing his life in the United States.

The large Canton passports disappeared after 1884 and were apparently replaced by small individual photgraphs of the person seeking admittance. These small photographs began to appear regularly after January 1885.

In June 1892, certificates issued in China began to appear declaring the person was a merchant and stating the value of his property upon immigration. This was probably a result of the extension of the Exclusion Act in 1892 and of the Scott Act which stated that the immigrant had to have property valued at $1,000 or more.

In 1902, Chinese immigration began to dwindle and the number of cases in Admiralty began to decrease. However, the Chinese Exclusion laws were not repealed until 1943 and some cases may be found up till then.

CRIMINAL CASES

Once the immigrant was in the United States, he might still have further contact with the Federal Courts in a case of common or criminal law. The criminal courts dealt with various types of cases, ranging from smuggling to failure to pay Federal taxes. Some of the criminal cases include the following examples:

(1) U.S. vs. Sing Lee. September 1882. Sing Lee was convicted of falsely impersonating a Chinese laborer by using a name other than his own. He

was found guilty, fined $1,000, and sentenced to 4 years in San Quentin.

(2) U.S. vs. Fong Ark. October 1887. Fong Ark was accused of failure to pay a special tax on cigar manufacturing. No verdict could be found and the case contains only a bench warrant and indictment.

(3) U.S. vs. Wong Ah Hung. November 1887. The defendant was accused of bringing a woman into the United States for purposes of prostitution. Wong Ah Hung pleaded not guilty, but was convicted, fined $1,000, and sentenced to 5 years in San Quentin.

(4) U.S. vs. Fung Chun Shee. January 1888. Fung Chun Shee was accused of bringing two females into the United States for purposes of prostitution. The defendant pleaded not guilty and the case ended with a hung jury. This case is interesting because there is a good exhibit of written Chinese testimony on very thin rice paper and two exhibits, written in Chinese and English, of testimony by the two girls. The case also includes photographs of Fung Chun Shee and the two girls.

Common Law Cases

As mentioned before, the Chinese immigrant might also appear in a court in a case of common law. These cases are interesting for a variety of reasons, including the fact that the Chinese could and did use the courts to protest against the discriminatory practices of the State and Federal governments.

In 1885, Wing Hing and other Chinese merchants sued the City of Eureka for $132,820 in damages alleged to have been sustained in a riot in Chinatown "by a mob of disorderly and riotous persons" on February 27, 1885. Damages done to "merchandise, clothing, provisions, furniture, fixtures, personal effects and money" would run from $240 to $5,599 for each individual merchant. The case was dismissed after it had been called three times with no response from either the plaintiff or the defendant. The plaintiff was ordered to pay $15 in court costs when the case was finally terminated on March 2, 1889.

In 1886, the Circuit Court heard habeas corpus proceedings in which Wo Lee, a Chinese laundryman of San Francisco, contested enforcement of an ordinance passed by the Board of Supervisors which made it an offense "for any person to establish, maintain, or carry on a laundry within the corporate limits of the city and county of San Francisco, without having first obtained the consent of the Board of Supervisors, except that the same located in a building of either brick or stone." Wo Lee argued that the ordinance as enforced, discriminated against Chinese since most Chinese laundries were housed in frame buildings and thus the ordinance favored large white-run laundry establishments. The ordinance also said that those laundries employing one vehicle with a horse pay a license fee of one dollar per quarter; those who employed no vehicles pay fifteen dollars per quarter. The Chinese did not employ horse-drawn vehicles. The Circuit Court ruled in Wo Lee's favor and the United States Supreme Court declared the ordinance null and void when the case was appealed.

Another landmark case against discrimination is that of Ho Ah Kow vs. Matthew Nunan in May 1878, which invalidated the Queue Ordinance. Passed by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, the ordinance stated that every male person imprisoned in the county jail should immediately upon his arrival have his hair "cut or clipped to a uniform length of one inch from the scalp." The queue, according to Ho Ah Kow, was worn by all Chinese men and losing it was regarded by the Chinese as degrading, as a disgrace in the eyes of their fellow Chinese, and as a cause for eternal suffering in death.The Court invalidated the ordinance on the grounds that it was cruel and unusual punishment.

Records of the U.S. Commissioners, 1892-1905

The administration of business of the Federal district courts is largely aided, especially in criminal procedures, by a class of officers known as United States Commissioners. Some of their more important powers include authority to issue warrants for the arrest of persons charged with offenses against the United States, to examine such offenders, and to imprison or admit them to bail; to enforce decisions of foreign consuls and vice consuls relating to controversies arising in United States ports between masters and crews of vessels belonging to their respective countries; to entertain complaints under extradition treaties and issue warrants for the apprehension of fugitives from foreign justice; and to take stipulations in admiralty suits.

Many cases involving Chinese immigration and the writ of habeas corpus were heard by the Commissioners rather than the admiralty courts because the person attempted to enter the United States over land borders, particularly from Mexico, rather than by sea. The Commissioners heard cases all over northern California and their records usually contain the name of the defendant, attorneys for each side, witnesses, dates of the proceedings, and the court's decision.

Records of the U.S. Supreme Court, 1790-1950

In addition to the original records from the California and Nevada courts, the Archives Branch has microfilm copies of cases, dockets, and minutes of the proceedings and cases heard before the United States Supreme Court, 1790-1950. Thus if one is interested in tracing a case, such as the Queue Ordidance, all the way to the United States Supreme Court, the records are available in our search room or through inter-institutional loan.

Records of the Bureau of Customs

Next to the court cases, correspondence from the District Director of Customs (San Francisco) is one of the most valuable sources of investigating the Chinese in California. Through reading and studying these letters it is possible to learn of many aspects of Chinese life.

The first collection district (Bureau of Customs) in California was established in 1848 and San Francisco was made a port of entry for the new District of Upper California in 1849. Original records from San Francisco held by the Archives Branch date from 1849 and include letters received, copies of letters sent, and records of the movement of vessels in and out of the port and the employment of seamen thereon.

The Customs correspondence, 1851-1911, is divided into two categories. First, the microfilmed letters, most concerning the early years of the Customs House, the second, letter books containing copies of letters written by the District Director himself, and other letters written by his subordinates. Slightly more than half of the letter books are indexed as to the contents of the book. When the books are indexed, most notations of Chinese people are listed only as "Chinese" rather than by individual name in the index. Thus, a search for a specific person can be difficult.

It is possible to find specific information, such as names, dates, addresses, and businesses of the Chinese in these records. For example, in a letter dated October 19, 1896, to U.S. Attorney H. S. Foote, the Collector states that he wishes to institute proceedings against some importers of illegal lottery tickets. The Collector includes the specific name of the Chinese firm, the individual addresses of the members of the firm, and data in regard to the importing vessel. The correspondence is also useful in obtaining information about everyday lives, as witnessed in a letter of August 28, 1908, from the Collector to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor concerning the case of Sing Kee. Sing Kee, owner of a gasoline launch, was fined $250 for operating a launch without a whistle, bell, foghorn, or light. Sing Kee stated that the launch had sunk while tied up in mooring and an engineer had been hired to raise the launch, clean and repair it. The engineer then took the launch out for a run without knowledge or consent of Sing Kee. The penalty was suspended.

Another aspect of this correspondence is its usefulness in examining the policies, procedures, and activities of the Bureau of Customs in regard to the Chinese. There are numerous letters written by Custom officials to law enforcement agencies asking questions about the various exclusion laws and the procedures to be used as a result of these laws. There are also letters and circulars to the Customs Bureau stating that procedures were to be used in conjunction with the laws. For example, in a letter dated November 6, 1889, the Collector wrote to Judge Lorenzo Sawyer stating that he had refused the landing of a group of Chinese for lack of positive proof of identification of the individuals. In the letter he details the testimony given by each individual as to why each should land and he asks the Judge if he was warranted in refusing the landing. There is also an 18-page circular, dated August, 1882 which provides a detailed account of the provisions of the May 6, 1882, Exclusion Act and the procedures to be used by Customs officials in determining if and when a Chinese immigrant was to be allowed to stay in the United States.

With regard to the Exclusion Act, and the conduct of the Customs officials, it can be seen that the officials, for the most part, did try to uphold the basic rights of the individual by adhering strictly to the letter of the law. In a letter of March 21, 1895, the Collector requested a search warrant from the U.S. Attorney to enter a Chinese dwelling to search for possible contraband goods alleged to be hidden there. On May 17, 1890, the Deputy-Collector wrote to the Sheriff of Alameda County instructing the sheriff that certain Chinese being deported were to remain in his custody and "be cared for properly."

The correspondence also shows that the Customs officials did try to extend the normal courtesies to Chinese officials visiting the United States. A letter of April 23, 1888, from the Collector to the Chinese Consul in San Francisco states that two Chinese officials expected soon will be allowed to land without hindrance. But the Customs officials didn't take chances. The Chinese Consul informed the Customs officials on August 20, 1888, that the Chinese Consuls from Lima were sailing to China but wished to land in the United States temporarily. The Collector replied they could land in the United States only after someone from the San Francisco Consulate had properly identified them.

As mentioned before, it was the Customs officials who did determine who could land in the United States. It was at this point that the Chinese denied initial entry, could and did go to the courts with a writ of habeas corpus. The Customs Bureau did have the right to refuse landing to any Chinese whom they believed did not have the proper identification and the correspondence contains many letters on this subject.

The letter books also include correspondence from the public requesting information on regulations in regard to landing Chinese. Many of these people had friends or relatives who were trying to enter the United States. On July 31, 1896, O. C. Conley wrote to the Collector on behalf of his friend Gee Dong who wished to bring his wife over from China. Mr. Phillip Drive asked on behalf of his Chinese client if the client's 15-year-old son could come to the United States. The Deputy-Collector replied on September 21, 1896, "if his father is a merchant, or other than a laborer, the boy can come under certain conditions; if he, on the other hand, is a laborer the boy cannot come."

Another type of correspondence in the letter books pertains to possible criminal activities. Opium smuggling, prostitution, stowaways, forged papers for entry, and other crimes are included. Many letters of this type are in the nature of the Collector asking the U.S. Attorneys to institute proceedings against the criminal.

U.S. FEDERAL POPULATION CENSUSES

Another rich source for research is the U.S. Census records. The first decennial census in California was in 1850 and those which followed in 1860, 1870, and 1880 have a wealth of data. Each census gives the country of birth of individuals enumerated who were not native born, information on an individual's occupation, family relationship, literacy and physical disabilities.

The censuses of 1870 and 1880 show if a person's parents were native or foreign born and the 1880 census goes further and shows the countries of parent's birth. In addition, each of the four censuses included a color category. In 1850 and 1860, the enumerator was limited to codes for white, black and mulatto. In 1870 and 1880, codes were added for Chinese and Indians. The Archives Branch holds the 1850, 1870, 1880, and 1900 census on microfilm. Ninety-nine percent of the 1890 population census, including all schedules for California, was destroyed by a fire in the Department of Commerce in 1921.

With respect to the Chinese and the 1880 census, it would be fair to say that the census has potential for being a good source on how the Chinese lived, their occupations, family relationships, and health conditions at the time of the census. The quality of the information does vary because of the kinds of questions asked by each enumerator and the care he exercised in taking the census. Samples of some of the cities and counties in California help to illustrate this point.

Butte County. Chico Public School District. The enumerator found a great many Chinese here, but he has listed them all as not being able to read or write and there is no detail as the place of birth. In fact, one man listed as a physician is described as not being able to read or write. The enumerator did not ask if they could read or write Chinese.

Chico Township. The enumerator has taken pains to detail something about these people. He gives us how many months the Chinese were unemployed during the census year and has taken time to find out who could read and write English.

Oroville. There were a great many Chinese living here and they were engaged in all aspects of trade. This census is rich in detail about the occupations, members of a family living in a home, number of boarders in a home, months unemployed, and marital status. Most of these Chinese are listed as being born in Canton.

Placerville. This census is also rich in detail about the Chinese and even gives the street where they lived.

RECORDS OF THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT

The records of the U.S. State Department are useful for those interested not only in the history of the Chinese in America, but also for those interested in Americans in China. The Archives Branch holds several microfilm publications of the State Department records which are useful in studying these relationships.

DIPLOMATIC DESPATCHES, 1843-1906

The *Register of Correspondence, 1870-1906*, tells who wrote a letter to the Department, the date the letter was received, the despatch number assigned to the document, and summarizes the contents of the letter. In a letter received January 23, 1878, the Ambassador wrote about "Social intercourse between

Chinese officials and Foreign Representatives. Practice of a formal interchange of New Year's courtesies seems firmly established but nothing further in the matter of social intercourse has been effected." The correspondence is also useful in examining Chinese relationships with other foreign countries. On January 2, 1878, Ambassador Seward wrote that China and the British Government had a question about harbor conservation in China. The Chinese Government had consulted four English lawyers whose opinion was that "China had the right to take such measures for conservation of her rivers and harbors as she may deem expedient, without having recourse to foreign authorities located within her territory." And a letter received on January 10 is concerned with the amelioration of the condition of Chinese "coolies" in Cuba. "Treaty recently concluded between Spain and China on subject enclosed with comments. Foreign Office expresses gratitude for mediation of Dip. Corps. in negotiation of the treaty and requests that U.S. Consuls in Cuba be directed to cooperate with Chinese Consuls to secure compliance with the terms of the treaty."

DIPLOMATIC DESPATCHES, CHINA 1843-1906

The *Register of Correspondence* may be used as an index to the numbered despatches found in the *Diplomatic Despatches from United States Ministers to China, 1843-1906*. The *Diplomatic Despatches* consists mostly of despatches sent to the State Department from June 27, 1843 to August 14, 1906.

The despatches contain information on such subjects as the opening of treaty ports and the extraterritorial rights of American citizens, the Opium Wars, the Taiping Rebellion, the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars, the Boxer Rebellion, the need for U.S. Navy ships in Chinse waters, piracy, the protection of missionaries, the "coolie" trade, the Exclusion Acts, diseases and plagues, shipping and trade, education, communications, and many other subjects. On May 20, 1882, Ambassador Chester Holcomb wrote from China in regard to the Exclusion Act of May 6, "I have watched the Ministers rather closely and have failed to discover any signs of uneasiness because of the recent legislative action taken by Congress on the 'Chinese question' of which full details have been given in the newspaper press, nor any diminutive in the feeling of exceeding kindliness which they profess to have for the Government and people of the United States. The subject has however not been discussed, either directly or indirectly, between the Foreign Office and myself."

In addition to the numbered despatches and their enclosures, there are some unnumbered communications which were a more informal means of communicating. They might report official matters requiring secrecy, clarification of a despatch, personal news, bills for official expeditures, and announcements of arrival or departure. There is also some correspondence from private citizens, Government agencies, and White House officials and memoranda from the State Department.

DIPLOMATIC INSTRUCTIONS, 1801-1906

In addition to the *Diplomatic Despatches*, which is a record of incoming correspondence to the State Department, the Branch has a microfilm copy of *Diplomatic Instructions, 1801-1906*. The *Instructions* are record copies of correspondence sent by the State Department to its diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic representatives assigned abroad. The *Instructions* include notice of appointments, convey information or inquiries, express approval or disapproval of proposals or actions, and transmit enclosures. Essentially however, the greatest number are instructions in the most definite and narrow sense of the term. They tell the American official what he is to do and say on a given issue, incident, treaty, and so forth.

LISTS OF OFFICERS, 1789-1939

Two other publications are useful in studying the State Department records. The *List of Diplomatic Officers, 1789-1939*, gives the names and dates of service of the U.S. Ambassadors to China, the Secretaries of Legations and Embassies, 1915-1939, and the names of student interpreters in China, 1902-1924. The *List of U.S. Consular Officers, 1789-1939*, gives the names and dates of service of Consular Officers by name of the city.

SUMMARY

To summarize, the San Francisco Archives Branch has many kinds of records useful for Chinese history research – Court, Customs, Census, and State Department. And these records can be used in the study of Chinese in the United States, Americans in China, United States-China relations, and China's relations with other countries. There is a wealth of data in these records and past researchers have only begun to "scratch the surface."

We are constantly, if sometimes slowly, accessioning new material. There are still original records in the Center and the offices of other Federal agencies to be examined and accessioned. A few of these might have occurred to you –such as the records of the U.S. Public Health Service for Angel Island and the records of the United States Attorney's Office. The National Archives in Washington is constantly sending us new microfilm publications and starting sometime in the next few months we will be receiving video tape equipment so that a researcher may use CBS news tapes in our search room. Transcripts of the CBS news broadcasts will also be available on microfiche. The researcher will then be able to examine such events as President Nixon's visit to China in 1972, as reported by the television news media.

The Archives Branches in all the Federal Archives and Records Centers are constantly growing and accessioning valuable sources for historical research. We are interested not only in preserving documents, but also in assisting you with your research. Come and see us. You might be surprised.

RECORDS USEFUL TO CHINESE-AMERICAN STUDIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO ARCHIVES BRANCH

U.S. DISTRICT COURT, NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA, 1851-1950

- Admiralty Cases
- Criminal Cases
- Common Law Cases
- U.S. Commissioner Records

Partial indexes of U.S. District Court cases on deposit in the Archives Branch are available at the Branch on microfilm. The indexes are in the Office of the Clerk of the Court, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco.

- Reel 1 Chinese Habeas Corpus Indexes, Volumes 1-5, 1882-1904. (Admiralty Court)
  - Index to Chinese Habeas Corpus cases in the Circuit Court.
- Reel 2 USDC General Index, Plaintiffs (Circuit Court cases) ca. 1896-1927
  - USDC General Index, Defendants (Circuit Court cases) ca. 1896-2927
- Reel 3 Index to Admiralty Cases, ca. nos. 1690-8660
  - Index to Opinions, Land Cases (Circuit Court) ca. 1854-1873
  - Index to Admiralty Cases with revised numbers (Involving seagoing vessels as respondents).
- Reel 4 USDC Criminal Index, 1904-1921
  - General Index to U.S. Cases (undated)
  - USDC Admiralty Index, Cases 8271-13204 (ca. 1890-1904)

U.S. SUPREME COURT

- M-215 Minutes of the Supreme Court, 1790-1950
- M-216 Dockets of the Supreme Court, 1792-1950
- M-408 Index to Appellate Case Files of the Supreme Court 1792-1909
- M-214 Appellate Case Files of the Supreme Court, 1792-1831

U.S. DISTRICT DIRECTOR OF CUSTOMS – SAN FRANCISCO

- Local and Outgoing Correspondence, 1851-1911

U.S. FEDERAL POPULATION CENSUS

- M-432—1850 Census M-593—1870 Census T-9—1880 Census T-623—1900 Census

U.S. INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

- Income Tax Assessment Lists, 1909-1917, San Francisco District
- M-756 Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for California, 1862-1866

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- M-77 Diplomatic Instructions, 1801-1906 China.
  - Reel 38 April 24, 1843 - April 23, 1867
  - Reel 39 September 13, 1867 - December 27, 1878
  - Reel 40 January 1, 1879 - February 28, 1885
  - Reel 41 March 2, 1885 - June 2, 1893
  - Reel 42 June 5, 1893 - June 23, 1899
  - Reel 43 June 24, 1899 - October 25, 1904
    - November 1, 1904 - August 14, 1906
- M-92 Diplomatic Despatches. China. 1843-1906
- M-17 Registers of Correspondence, 1870-1906
- M-586 List of U.S. Diplomatic Officers, 1789-1906
  - Reel 1 China
  - Reel 3 Secretaries of Embassies and Legations, 1915-1939
  - Reel 3 Student Interpreters in China, 1902-1924
- M-587 List of U.S. Consular Officers, 1789-1939

Reel 4 Canton
Reel 5 Changsha
Reel 5 Chefoo
Reel 5 Chinkiang
Reel 5 Chungking
Reel 6 Dalny
Reel 7 Foochow
Reel 9 Hangchow
Reel 9 Hankow
Reel 9 Harbin
Reel 9 Hong Kong
Reel 9 Ichang
Reel 10 Kalgan
Reel 10 Kiukiang
Reel 10 King-chow
Reel 13 Mukden
Reel 13 Nanking
Reel 13 Newchwang
Reel 13 Ningpo
Reel 14 Pakhoi
Reel 14 Peking
Reel 18 Shanghai
Reel 19 Sivatow
Reel 19 Tientsin
Reel 20 Tsinanfu
Reel 20 Tsingtau
Reel 21 Yunnanfu

CHRONOLOGY OF TREATIES AND MAJOR FEDERAL LAWS AFFECTING CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

By Charles Chan

San Mateo, California, October, 1972

1. *Prohibition of Coolie Trade—Act of February 19, 1862* (12 Stat. 340):

(*Note:* Still in the Federal statute as of October 1972)

First Federal law directed against Chinese, Japanese and other Asiatics. Levies fine and imprisonment for those engaging in transportation, sale, or transfer of Asiatic "coolies" as well as those contracts to supply such labors. Voluntary emigration of "coolies" excepted. Also refuses certificate to vessels carrying immigrants to U.S. for "Lewd and immoral purposes."

A deterrent to American shippers for engaging in the type of notorious Chinese "coolie" traffic" to West Indies and South Americas practiced by the French, Spaniards and Portuguese between 1845 and 1874.

2. *Burlingame Treaty* (July 28, 1868)

As a special envoy abroad for China, Anson Burlingame signed a treaty with U.S. Secretary of State, William H. Seward, which reaffirmed American privileges in China, disclaimed any intention of intervention in China, and gave the Chinese the most-favored-nation privileges of travel, visit, and residence in the U.S. Through this treaty, China gained the principle of reciprocity (in privileges, immunities and exemptions), and the U.S., reinforcement of good will, trade and commerce with China. (Burlingame had previously served as a U.S. Minister to China for six years).

The treaty was the first of its kind in which immigration to one another's country was specified. The Preamble read:

> "The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from one country to the other, for the purpose of curiosity, or trade or as permanent residents."

However, the privilege of naturalization was not included. It stated: "But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States."

3. *Act of March 3, 1875* (18 Stat. 477)—Immigration of convicts and of women for prostitution forbidden:

(*Note:* Still in the Federal statute as of October 1972)

It prohibits the importation of women for the purposes of prostitution; fine and imprisonment are imposed on those who are convicted for such act. It also forbids the entry of convicts, except for those charged with political offense, and women "imported for the purposes of prostitution."

Although written in general terms, the act was executed with the Chinese in mind. Included in this law are requirement of certification on whether immigrants from China, Japan and other Asiatic countries have contracted for "immoral purposes," and the levy of fine and imprisonment for those who have transported such immigrants for term of service without their free voluntary consent.

4. On March 1, 1879, President Rutherford B. Hayes *vetoed* the "Fifteen Passenger Bill" prohibiting vessels from carrying more than this number of Chinese passengers to the U.S. at one time. The President felt that the bill contravened the Burlingame Treaty of 1868.

5. "Proclaiming Treaty Between the United States and China Concerning Immigration"—Signed November 17, 1880:
   a. Yielding to pressures, President Hayes dispatched a commission to China to negotiate modification of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868;
   b. Article I: "Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, *but may not absolutely prohibit it* . . ." (Emphasis added).

6. Exclusion and Restrictive Acts from 1882 to 1904:
   a. *Act of May 6, 1882* (22 Stat. 58)
      (1) The basic Chinese Exclusion act which implemented the Treaty of 1880;
      (2) Entitled: "An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese;"
      (3) Provided for suspension of immigration of Chinese *laborers* to the U.S. for a period of *ten* years. "Chinese laborers" defined as "both skilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining."
      (4) Permitted re-entry of certain Chinese laborers who left U.S. temporarily;
      (5) A Chinese person, other than a laborer, could be admitted upon presentation of Certificate from Chinese government certifying his right of admission under terms of the treaty with China ("Section Six Certificate"):
      (Chinese teachers, students, merchants, and travelers were so admitted. This Act of 5-6-1882 did not apply to diplomatic and other officers of the Chinese Government.)
      (6) Naturalization prohibited: "That hereafter no state court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed." (Sec. 14);
      (7) *Note:* Early in 1882, President Chester A. Arthur *vetoed* bill suspending Chinese immigration for twenty years as he regarded it to be too long of a period of suspension. Accordingly, Congress shortened it to ten years, and the President signed the Act of May 6, 1882.

   b. *Act of July 5, 1884* (22 Stat. 115), amended Act of May 6, 1882;
      (1) First of a series of acts to strengthen the basic Chinese Exclusion Act of 5-6-1882;
      (2) "Section Six Certificate" could be issued by other countries of which a Chinese person was then a subject. Could also be issued to those Chinese in transit through U.S.;
      (3) U.S. had right to not accept such certificate for entry, if not warranted.

   c. *Proposed Treaty of 1888* (Forwarded to Chinese Government for ratification in May 1888):
      (1) Entry of Chinese laborers shall be absolutely prohibited for twenty years. (Added by Senate: this prohibition shall extend to the return of Chinese laborers):
      (2) Prohibition not applicable to any Chinese laborer having wife, child, parent or property or debts due him to the amount of $1,000.00;
      (3) Certain Chinese subjects, not laborers, to have admission privilege;
      (4) U.S. to guarantee Chinese residents all rights of the most favored nation except

naturalization, and to exert all power to secure protection to persons and property of all Chinese subjects in U.S.;
(5) U.S. agree to payment of $276,619.75 as full indemnity for all losses and injuries suffered by the Chinese in U.S.

d. *Act of September 13, 1888* (25 Stat. 476):
(1) Law passed in anticipation that Treaty of 1888 be ratified by China;
(2) Entitled: "Prohibiting the Coming of Chinese Laborers into the United States";
(3) A Chinese laborer was not permitted to return to the U.S. unless he had a lawful wife, child, or parent in the U.S. or property therein valued at $1,000.00 or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement;
(4) A Chinese laborer within these exemptions who needed to depart temporarily was required to secure a return certificate, valid for one year, from the collector of customs. In certain instance could be extended for additional year.

e. *Act of October 1, 1888* (25 Stat 504) (Known as the *SCOTT ACT*):
(1) Law enacted when American papers published London Press dispatch which stated in effect that China had refused to sign the Treaty of 1888;
(2) Prohibited return of any Chinese laborers who had departed from the U.S.;
(3) Forbade the issuance of return certificates to Chinese laborers;
(4) All certificates of identity issued to Chinese laborers who left U.S. for temporary visits abroad—under the Act of 1882—were declared null and void;
(5) (As a result, at least 20,000 Chinese laborers who had left with such certificates, and about 600 who were already on their way back to the U.S. had their permits for re-entry revoked);

f. *Act of May 5, 1892* (25 Stat. 25) (Known as the *GEARY ACT*):
(1) Entitled: "Prohibiting the Coming of Chinese Persons into the United States and Providing for Registration of Resident Laborers";
(2) *Extended* all Chinese Exclusion laws for a period of ten *years;*
(3) Registration required for all Chinese laborers within one year and the issuance of Certificate of Residence to those who were legally admitted;
(4) Chinese in deportation proceedings had burden of establishing right to remain in the U.S.

g. *Act of November 3, 1893* (28 Stat. 7) (*McCreary Amendment* to Geary Act):
(1) Extended time of registration of Chinese laborers for six months;
(2) Defined "laborer": " . . . shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled manual laborers, including Chinese employed in mining, fishing, huckstering, peddling, laundrymen, or those engaged in taking, drying or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption."
(3) Defined "merchant": "A merchant is a person engaged in buying and selling merchandise, at a fixed place of business, which business is conducted in his name, and who during the time he claims to be engaged as a merchant, does not engage in the performance of any labor, except as is necessary in the conduct of his business as such merchant."

h. *Treaty of 1894:*
(1) Exclusion of Chinese laborers for ten years, except those registered laborers who had in the U.S., lawful wife, child, or parent, or property or debts due him to the amount of $1,000.00;
(2) All Chinese laborers required to register;
(3) (Sanctioned Acts of May 5, 1882 and November 3, 1883);
(4) China gained slight degree of reciprocity in registration of American laborers in China.

i. *Joint Resolution of July 7, 1898* (30 Stat. 750):

(1) Entitled: "Prohibiting the Immigration of Chinese into Hawaii or Their Entry into the United States from Hawaii";
(2) Prohibited further immigration of Chinese into Hawaiian Islands except for those who are declared admissible to the U.S.

j. *Act of April 30, 1900* (21 Stat. 141):
(1) Entitled: "Fixing Status of Chinese Within Hawaii and Providing for Their Registration";
(2) Chinese in Hawaii also required to register and obtain Certificate of Residence in same manner as specified under Chinese Exclusion Act of May 5, 1892.

k. *Act of April 29, 1902* (32 Stat. 176):
(1) *Extended* all Chinese exclusion laws *indefinitely;*
(2) Registration and obtaining Certificate of Residence also required of Chinese persons in insular possession of the U.S.

l. *January 1904*–Chinese Minister at Washington denounced the Treaty of 1894.

m. *Act of April 27, 1904* (33 Stat. 428):
(1) When China abrogated the Treaty of 1894, U.S. Congress *extended* all Chinese exclusion laws *without any further limitation in time.* Thus the exclusion of Chinese laborers became a permanent one (until its repeal 39 years later on December 17, 1943);
(2) Made such laws applicable to the island territory of U.S.;
(3) Prohibited immigration of Chinese laborers from such island territory to mainland U.S.

7. *Laws affecting U.S. Citizens of Chinese Ancestry:*
a. *Act of 1921* (57 Stat. 601):
(1) Alien wives of American citizens, irrespective of race, no longer acquired U.S. citizenship by fact of marriage;
(2) Prior to this enactment, many alien Chinese women entered U.S. as American
(1) Provision for national origins immigration quota system, specifically for European citizens (1,943 from 1917 to 1924).

b. *Immigration Act of May 26, 1924* (43 Stat. 153):
countries. (Chinese laborers were barred from admission under the Chinese Exclusion Acts, Japanese laborers under the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, Korean and Japanese laborers under the President's proclamation of March 14, 1907, other Asiatics under the "barred zone" provision of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917).
(2) *Aliens ineligible to citizenship* not admissible to the U.S. (Primarily against the Japanese aliens.)
  (a) In Chang Chan et al v. John D. Nagle (268 U.S. 346), the U.S. Supreme Court on May 25, 1925, declared that section 13 (c) of the Immigration Law of May 26, 1924, excludes *Chinese alien wives of American citizens.* (Chinese were barred from naturalization under the first Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.)
  (b) It thus revoked the right of U.S. citizens fo Chinese ancestry to bring their foreign-born Chinese wives and children into the U.S.; number of wives so admitted averaged 150 per year from 1906 to 1924;
  (c) On the same date, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that alien Chinese wives and minor children of domiciled alien Chinese merchants may enter U.S. for permanent residence as non-quota immigrants (Chan Sum Shee et al v. Nagle, 69 L ed 640).

c. *Act of June 13 1930* (46 Stat. 581):
(1) Provided for admission to Chinese wives who were married to U.S. citizens of

Chinese ancestry *prior to May 26, 1924,* the date of the enactment of the Immigration Act of 1924;

Number so admitted was about 60 per year from 1921 to 1941. (None admitted between 1925 and 1930 due to Immigration Act of 1924.)

d. *Loss of U.S. Citizenship by marriage to alien ineligible to citizenship:*

(1) American born woman loses her U.S. citizenship upon marriage to person ineligible for citizenship (Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatics). (2 Amer. Jur. 560, Aliens, Sec. 185);

(2) This was later rectified by law for non-Asiatic women who could regain her U.S. citizenship (Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatics). (2 Amer. Jur. 560, Aliens Sec. 185);

e. *Child born abroad of a father who is a U.S. citizen:*

(1) Under certain circumstances, a child born abroad of a father who is a U.S. citizen, inherits his father's citizenship (10 Stat. 604-1855, and others). Such a child is admissible to the U.S. as a citizen;

(2) Numerous Chinese aliens were admitted under this provision surreptitiously. Following the San Francisco earthquake and fire when official records were destroyed, quite a few Chinese claimed themselves to have been born in San Francisco. Such a Chinese would return to his wife in China, father a son who was subsequently admitted to the U.S. as a derivative citizen. Later, among some, a system was developed whereby the father claimed extra "sons," thus creating a slot which was available for sale to those who wanted a youngster admitted to the U.S. Such sons were known as "paper sons."

(3) Between July 1, 1920 and June 30, 1940, 71,040 Chinese persons were admitted as U.S. citizens. (The number of Chinese aliens admitted the same period was only 66,039, which included re-entries).

(4) As the result of Consul General Drumright's "*Report on the Problems of Fraud in Hong Kong* (1955) regarding "paper sons" and of the concerted efforts of the American Consulate in Hong Kong and the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the U.S., a substantial number of such Chinese gave "confession" of their true identity. From approximately 1959 to 1969, the San Francisco District Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service had obtained 8,000 such confessions, with an average of 850 per year. A considerable number of them were later permitted to adjust their status to that of permanent residents and eventually apply for naturalization.

8. *Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts*—December 13, 1943:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the "Act to Repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to Establish Quotas, and for Other Purposes" on December 13, 1943 (57 Stat. 600-1):

a. Repealed past acts relating to exclusion and deportation of Chinese aliens;

b. Permits Chinese aliens in the U.S. to apply for naturalization;

c. Provides for admission of 105 Chinese per year, with preference of up to 75% of the quota given to those born and residing in China;

d. Restrictions:

(1) Generally, an alien's quota is chargeable to his country of birth. However, a Chinese person must be charged to the Chinese quota of 105, irrespective of his country of birth;

(2) Immigration regulations defined "Chinese person" as those who are "as much as one-half Chinese blood . . . . ," e.g., a person who is half English and half Chinese, born in England, is Chinese, and thus is charged to the Chinese quota of 105 and not to that of England;

(3) Chinese wives and children of American citizens, unlike others, were chargeable to the Chinese quota of 105. (European wives and children of American citizens were admitted on non-quota basis).

9. *Laws affecting members of the U.S. armed forces, including Chinese:*
   a. Public Law 162 of June 24, 1935 (49 Stat. (Part 1) 397):
      (1) Several hundred alien veterans of Asiatic ancestry, including Chinese, who served in the U.S. armed forces during World War I, were granted the right to apply for U.S. citizenship through ntauralization.
   b. War Brides Act of December 28, 1945 (59 Stat. 659) (Public Law 271):
      (1) Facilitated the admission of foreign-born spouses married to members of the U.S. armed forces during World War II;
      (2) *Public Law 213 of July 22, 1947* amended the War Brides Act by extending the same benefits to alien spouses ineligible to citizenship if they were married to U.S. citizens before or within thirty days after the passage of the act;
      (3) During its three-year operation, 113,135 war brides, 327 war grooms, and 4,537 children were admitted. Approximately 6,000 of them were Chinese women.
   c. *G. I. Financees Act of June 29, 1946* (60 Stat. 339):
      (1) Facilitated the admission of foreign-born fiancees engaged to members of the U.S. armed forces. More than 8,000 alien fiancees and fiances were admitted between 1947 and 1949. Only 91 of them were Chinese.
   d. *Act of August 19, 1950* (64 Stat. 464; 64 Stat. 6):
      (1) Made spouses and minor children of members of the U.S. armed forces, regardless of the alien's race, eligible for non-quota immigrant status if marriage occurred prior to March 19, 1952. Benefitted mainly aliens of Japanese and Korean ancestry.

10. *Act of August 9, 1946* (60 Stat. 975):
    To correct the inequity of the 1943 Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, Chinese alien wives and children of American citizens were placed on non-quota basis, and thus not chargeable to the Chinese quota of 105 per year.

11. *The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952* (66 Stat. 163):
    (Known as the Walter-McCarran Act)
   a. *Made all races eligible for naturalization.* (earlier, the Chinese were given this privilege in 1943, and the aliens of India and the Philippine Islands in 1946).
   b. *Eliminated race as a bar to immigration.*
      Most Asiatic countries were given the maximum quota of 100 per year;
      However, the quotas for Asiatics were extremely limited, due to the principle of the national origins quota and the new *Asia-Pacific Triange* quota provisions.
      An alien of at least fifty per cent Asian ancestry was chargeable to his country of *ancestry*, or the *Asia-Pacific Triangle* in general, regardless of where he was born or lived.
      Status of Chinese aliens remained unchanged.

12. *Laws affecting Displaced Persons, Refugees, Escapees,*
    for which were included as beneficiary:
    Between 1948 and 1959, several emergency and temporary laws were enacted to: 1) permit a certain number and types of displaced persons, refugees, orphans, and relatives to be admitted to the U.S.; 2) grant non-quota status to certain aliens who have been waiting for a quota number for many years; and 3) allow for adjustment of status to that of permanent resident for students, visitors, skilled aliens, who were not able to return to their own country for fear of persecution.
   a. *Displaced Persons Act of 1948* (act of June 25, 1948; 62 Stat. 1009), (amended and extended to June 30, 1954):
      (1) The Chinese Communist occupation of mainland China, before the end of 1949 had made a number of Chinese temporarily in the U.S. eligible for adjustment of status to that of permanent resident on the basis that they were unable to return to their country of birth, residence, or national origin because of fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion;
      (2) A total of 3,465 "displaced" Chinese students, visitors, seamen, and others had

their temporary status in the U.S. adjusted to that of permanent resident.

b. *Refugee Act of 1953* (August 7, 1953; Stat. 400; expired December 31, 1956):
  (1) Allotted a total of 2,000 visas to Chinese whose passport had been endorsed by the Chinese Nationalist Government or its authorized representatives;
  (2) Chinese persons included in the category of 3,000 visas issued to refugees from the Far East (Asia);
  (3) Adjustment of status to that of permanent resident for those alien temporarily in the U.S. who is unable to return to the country of his birth, nationality, or last residence because of fear of persecution on account of race, religion or political opinion. A majority of those who had their status adjusted were Chinese born in China.

c. *Refugee Escapee Act of September 11, 1957* (71 Stat. 639; Public Law 85-316):
  (1) Adjustment of status for skilled aliens in the U.S. who are beneficiaries of an approved first preference petition filed before September 11, 1957 and who were admitted to the U.S. temporarily July 1, 1957. If his spouse and children were also in the U.S. on July 1, 1957, they were able to have their status adjusted likewise. Approximately 815 Chinese skilled aliens and their spouse and children had their status adjusted;
  (2) Non-quota status granted to immigrants abroad for whom first, second, and third preference quota status had been approved prior to July 1, 1957. (1st pref.: skilled aliens; 2nd pref.: alien parents of U.S. citizens; 3rd pref.: spouses and children of aliens lawfuly admitted for permanent residence).
  (3) Suspension of deportation for one who had obtained visas or documentation by fraud or misrepresentation, or if he is the spouse, parent, or child of a U.S. citizen or permanent resident alien. It benefitted those Chinese who had confessed to the immigration authorities of being a "paper son" under the "slot system."

d. *Act of September 22, 1959* (Public Law 86-363):
  (1) Non-quota status granted to second, third, fourth preference aliens who were on quota waiting list prior to December 31, 1953 and whose petitions had been approved prior to January 1, 1959. (The 115 persons from China who were thus admitted had already waited at least six years for a visa).

13. *Hong Kong refugees paroled into U.S.* May, 1962, to the end of 1965:

a. As a humanitarian gesture, President John F. Kennedy signed the Presidential Directive on May 23, 1962 permitting some Hong Kong refugees to enter the U.S. immediately as parolees. This provision terminated at the end of 1965;

b. As of June 30, 1967, 15,111 were so admitted. Most of them had been on the waiting list for quota visas for a number of years.

c. Under PL 89-236, they were permitted to adjust their status to that of permanent residents after a two-year residence. By the end of 1966 fiscal year, 9,126 of them were accorded this status.

14. *The Act of October 3, 1965* (79 Stat. 911):

a. Major purpose of this enactment was to abolish the national origins immigration quota system on and after July 1, 1968;

b. The Asia-Pacific Triangle provisions were repealed immediately;

c. During the interim period, July 1, 1965, to June 30, 1968, unused portion of any country's quota was placed in a pool from which visas were issued to qualified aliens from countries in which quota was oversubscribed.
  (1) An estimate of 6,000 Chinese were admitted under this provision between January, 1966, and October, 1966.

d. As of July 1, 1968, each independent country outside of the Western Hemisphere is granted a quota of up to 20,000 per year;
  (1) A Chinese is no longer restricted to the Chinese quota of 105 per year, irrespective

of place of birth. He is now charged to such country's quota of 20,000 per year if he were born in that country.

e. The quota of a colony or dependent area outside of the Western Hemisphere is chargeable to the quota of its mother country, not to exceed 1% of the latter's quota number;

(1) A person born in the colony of Hong Kong has his quota chargeable to that of Great Britain.

f. Abolition of national origins system and Asia-Pacific Triangle provisions brought change in number of immigrants admitted from Asian countries:

(1) Years ended June 30, 1971, and 1965:

Country of birth:	Number		Percent
	1971	1965	Change:
China (includes Taiwan)	14,417	4,057	+ 255.4
Hong Kong	3,205	712	+ 350.1
India	14,310	582	+ 2358.8
Japan	4,457	3,180	+ 40.2
Korea	14,297	2,165	+ 560.4
Philippines	28,471	3,130	+ 809.6

(From: 1971 Annual Report, Immigration and Naturalization Service)

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SAN FRANCISCO LIBRARY AND THE CHINESE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

By

GLADYS C. HANSEN

The San Francisco Public Library occupies the block bounded by Larkin, Fulton, McAllister and Hyde Streets. The building is a three-story granite structure in the Italian Renaissance style, an imposing monument to learning but inefficient and not easily adaptable to modern techniques of librarianship. The Main Library building is supplemented by 26 branches located throughout the city, a business library downtown, and a book-mobile and mediamobile.

San Francisco's first public library was a reading room opened in 1878. The founding Board of Trustees boasted among its 11 members Andrew S. Hallidie, developer of the cable car, and economist Henry George. With an appropriation of $24,000 from the Board of Supervisors, the trustees bought 6,000 books, installed them in a rented hall, and invited the public to come and read, but not to borrow, them. When books were first circulated in 1881, about 10,500 persons held library cards. The number of patrons has tripled and the book collection had grown to 140,000 volumes by 1906, when earthquake and fire totally destroyed the wing of City Hall which had housed the library since 1888. About 25,000 volumes were returned after the disaster from homes and branches, and the library continued operations in temporary quarters.

The present building was an elegant addition to the Civic Center when it was dedicated February 15, 1917. It was designed by architect George W. Kelham, who selected the Italian Renaissance style as "seeming best to represent the scholarly atmosphere which a library should attempt to convey."

Of the $1,152,000 expended for construction and equipment, $375,000 was contributed by Andrew Carnegie, who contributed a like amount for the construction of branch libraries.

The building exterior is granite; across its facade are carved the words, "May this structure, throned on imperishable books, be maintained and cherished from generation to generation for the improvement and delight of mankind."

The San Francisco Archives and History Room is located on the third floor. Here you will find a collection of Chinese materials, which I am extremely proud of, and, one which I have thoroughly enjoyed assembling.

In 1963, we at the Public Library began a program to further develop the libraries' existing collection of books and ephemeral materials relating to the study of the Chinese in California. All of this was in anticipation of new interest to research Chinese history among scholars and students, mainly due to the formation of the Chinese Historical Society.

At that time, considerable book references were available in the library's file, actually more than enough, to adequately handle our every day requests, for information on California's Chinese. However, we wanted to include in a forthcoming bibliography, some new information, and began searching out additional materials.

The 126 titles listed below was presented to the public in an attractive red cover with Chinese lettering. We circulated hundreds of these and even today I occasionally see one still in use.

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In 1970, *The Chinese in California, A Brief Bibliographic History,* was published. Both William F. Heintz and I were delighted to have the opportunity to put this volume together. Significantly, it originated with the Public Library, a logical source for information and research on the city's Chinatown. For over a century the Chinese in the United States looked to San Francisco's Chinatown for aid and direction in affairs ranging from political to personal. Here the records were kept, here the important decisions formulated. Although the 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed much archival material on the Chinese and Chinatown a great deal still exists in personal or family collections.

No real attempt was made to gather or collect family holdings of Chinese history until the Chinese Historical Society was organized. Through strengthening this organization and dispelling the heavy residue of fear and distrust still held by many Chinese of American institutions, this aspect of California's history may yet be saved from the destruction which is inevitable with the passage of time.

Our annotated bibliography was not an attempt to be the definitive bibliography for it contains only 423 titles. Such a project will require a good deal more work and years of effort, now that it is apparent how much material is available. Obviously, this list of books can be expanded many times over, and will have to be in searching out the history of the Chinese in this state. The Chinese in California have contributed as much as, if not more than any other single race in the State's early economic development and played a strong vital role in the formative stages of many of California's major industries. Tragically, however, this story has never been told in other than fragmented form and the Chinese-Americans now in California have suffered from this slight on their history.

One of our most popular exhibits, and certainly the most colorful one, is the exhibit we install to bring attention to the celebration of the Chinese New Year. Along with our printed materials we display some of the very beautiful vases and clothing belonging to the Chinese Historical Society which we have stored in the Archives for just such occasions.

The accumulation of historical matter progresses with ever increasing rapidity, once donors are aware that their gift is adequately cataloged and available for use. Therefore, I believe the Public Library provided the most help to the Chinese Historical Society in 1971 when we removed all boxed paper materials from their headquarters so that we could sort and classify it. The actual work was performed by members of the society who worked under our direction. This task took many months, but eventually two vertical files were filled.

By transferring the material to the library, the Society did three important things: 1) They made available to the public a collection which would not otherwise be ready for public use for years. 2) By putting the initial collection in order it allowed for collecting more material with the knowledge that it will be put to immediate use, and eventually be part of the finest collection of Chinese Californiana assembled in one place. 3) The material is housed where a trained staff service it and where study facilities and more convenient hours make it available to the public. Unfortunately, at this time we cannot boast a catalog which describes the Society's holdings for there is none. However, the contents of these files are arranged so that easy retrieval is assured. This is done by assigning the material to broad subject fields or to geographical areas.

How many of you know that the first person to classify materials was the eminent writer and historian Cheng Ch'iao, who in the 12th century realized that no person could encompass all the written knowledge or investigate all the myriad fields of learning, without first having a system of classification. He once remarked "classifying books is like commanding an army. If there is a system, no matter how large the number, it will still be under control. If there is no system, no matter how small the number, all will be confusion. Classification is not handicapped by greatness of numbers, but by lack of devices to cope with the situation."

I have quickly reviewed some of the library's contributions to further the study of the history of the Chinese in California. We intend to persist in our search for new materials for this collection, and perhaps some day to bring out an enlarged Chinese bibliography to include the hundreds of new titles now in the library. In addition, we will continue aid to the Chinese Historical Society by maintaining their files and soon, hopefully, to start work on the Society's catalog.

Listed below are some of the titles of the slides shown during my presentation.

1. The Campaign of 1877. Eloquent. Eloquent address by Dr. Chas. C. O'Donnell, Human Rights and the Power of Corporations. On Chinese Importation. (Broadside)
2. Address of Dr. Chas. C. O'Donnell, from the Balcony, No. 229 Kearny Street. Aug. 1, 1873. (Broadside)
3. The Chinese Thug Again Considered. By. Dr. Chas. C. O'Donnell, No. 807 Kearny. n.d. (Broadside)
4. To the Honorable President and Senate of the United States. The Petition of the Undersigned Citizens, Resident in the State of California, Respectfully shows . . . That your petitioners view with just alarm the systematic importation and immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States; to be employed at rates of wages ruinous to the free labor of our citizens . . . J. Mason Chairman, Oct. 5, 1871. (Broadside)
5. Sight-Seers Attention! Free Guides Through Chinatown Furnished Patrons Afternoon and Evening. 1897. (Broadside)
6. Seeing Chinatown, San Francisco. To visit San Francisco and not see Chinatown with our guides would be like going to Europe and not seeing Paris. Peck-Judah Co. 1908. (Broadside)
7. An Appeal for Justice. For the first time in the history of man the Chinese residents of San Francisco appeal to the thinking class of Americans . . . Signed. Chinese Residents of San Francisco, Cal. May 24, 1900. (Broadside)
8. Mission To The Chinese in California Rev. O. Gibson, Superintendent. Appeal to the Methodist Women on the Pacific Coast. Oct. 1, 1873. (Broadside)
9. Official Map of "Chinatown" in San Francisco. July 1885.
10. Map of Chinatown Having A Population of 25,000 Chinese, Together With a Key to the Places of Interest. Compiled by H. J. West. 1873.
11. Hall's Patent Concrete, Fire and Burglar-Proof Safes . . . Broadside poster,

16 x 10 inches; aside from English text at head, the entire broadside is in Chinese, with calligraphy by Jin Mun. San Francisco, Ca. 1860.

12. United States of America. State of California. Anti-Chinese Convention. San Francisco, July 17th, 1870. To Kong Chow, Ning Yeong, Sam Yup, Yun War, and Hop War, the Six Chinese Companies of San Francisco: Gentlemen: We have the honor of informing you that on the evening of the 15th of July, 1870, the largest meeting of the people ever assembled in this City was held in the Mechanics' Pavilion for the purpose of protesting against the further emigration of Chinese to this Country, the full account of which you will find in the newspapers of the next day . . . Signed. Temporary President of Anti-Chinese Convention. (printed letter)

13. Circular from Golden City Lodge, No. 190, of San Francisco. To the Officers and Members of the Order of the Knights of St. Crispin, Throughout the United States and Canada, Greeting. We earnestly call your attention to the existing state of affairs in the city, and on this coast! For, if ever a grievance existed since the organization of the Order of the Knights of Saint Crispin, what we have to contend against in this city is a grievance of the greatest magnitude and injury to the Order at large, if allowed to continue, viz: the introduction of the Coolie into our trade . . . San Francisco, March 15th, 1871.

14. Membership certificate. The Chinese Equal Rights League of America. New York, Dec. 4th, 1897. Received of Chin Fook the sum of two dollars on account of above League for demanding Equality of Rights for Americanized Chinese of the United States.

15. Pro Bono Publico. The attention of the 1001 will be drawn to any and all promises where Chinese are employed or ALLOWED. Property Owners, Insurance Companies and Employers may make a note of this while there is time, and before the Avergers of Oppressed Labor thunders at your door. (signed) 1001. n.d.

16. San Francisco Daily Report. Supplement. July, 1885. Startling Report of the Hideous and Disgusting Features in Chinatown, by the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors. 16 pages.

17. Chinese Theater. Misc. Materials.
    a. Platt's Hall. Tuesday, March 31st, 1885 ticket for the play "The Chinese Reformer" with Guiy Min.
    b. Chinese Theater program. Sept. 1911.
    c. Shanghai Theater, Kearny & Washington Streets, San Francisco. 1911 program.

18. Thirteenth Census of the United States. Chinese Consular Proclamation. 1910. With a list of the questions to be answered.

19. Notice To Our Patrons. San Francisco, June 1, 1917. During the past six months the cost of all materials used in the Laundrying of clothes – such as soap, starch and soda – has increased to such an extent that it is impossible for us to continue doing Laundry work for our patrons at our former rates . . . Very respectfully, The Chinese Laundries.

20. Proceedings of the Asiatic Exclusion League. San Francisco. October, 1908; October, 1910; June, 1911.

Comment: Him Mark Lai, *Chinese Historical Society of America*

#2 – CHINESE ART AND MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES

Chairman: George M. Williams, *California State University, Chico*

CONTRIBUTION OF CHINESE ART TO FRESNO CULTURE

By

S. MICHAEL OPPER and LILLIE LEW

I am going to show and discuss four representative art objects that Mrs. Lew and I selected from many that were in a Chinese Art Exhibit held in Fresno, January 7, 1974. These were selected for authenticity, subject mattter, material and the interesting ways in which their owners came to possess them and brought them to Fresno. They represent a sampling of the many collectors and people interested in Chinese art and culture in the Central San Joaquin Valley.

CHICKEN-BONE JADE:

The first item I am going to discuss is an art treasure of chicken-bone jade. The magic of jade has captured the imagination and desires of people over the centuries. A precious stone, due to its limited quantity of quality caliber, it has innate aesthetic appeal due to its translucency and luster.

Today, one of the most highly prized pieces of jade a collector can have, according to Chinese antiquarians, is "chicken-bone white." This is the jade that through contact with earth chemicals in tombs has lost its original color and, due to calcification, has lost its original translucency.

Among the items that were presented at our Art Exhibit was a significant example of "chicken-bone white" jade, authenticated to be of the Chou Dynasty (1122-221 B.C.). Of unusual silhouette and large dimensions, it is 7-1/16 in. long, 4-1/16 in. wide, and 5/16 in. thick. Though calcified, it still retains its soft, sensual tactile aspect. The design whorls on the surface create a sophisticated pattern. Unobtrusive, they are incised in shallow relief with a minimum of flare, creating a low linear overall design on the surface. Giving it a feeling of tremendous strength, it is bordered by a geometric pattern emphasized by a slight undercut. It is crested with exquisite open work that flows into two facing, undulating, agitated dragons. Current research indicates that it was used as a symbol of rank, probably a breast plate, as the fineness of the execution of the designs seem to preclude the other possibility of its being a musical striking instrument.

As few pieces of its quality and age are in private collections, it was a major attraction at our exhibit. It is part of a large collection of jade that Dr. and Mrs. Timothy Wong, now residents of Fresno, have collected over the years.

Dr. Wong was brought up in the time-honored Chinese tradition of strict discipline with an emphasis on education. Born in Shanghai, he lived there till he was eighteen. He took the British exams in Singapore and won a scholarship to a private school in Virginia. Instilled in Dr. Wong was the obligation to succeed in his role in life. As he stated, "If he failed in his education, he was not just shaming himself, but his whole family." Fulfilling his family's expectations, and proving to be a good scholar, Timothy Wong, having completed his education, became a professor of medicine before moving to Fresno to open a private practice in radiation-therapy.

Dr. Wong's wife, Evelyn, is an artist and a collector of Asian art. Evelyn was brought up in an environment devoted to art, scholarship and service. Her father is a diplomat and her mother is a newspaperwoman in Taiwan.

Dr. Wong is a radiation-therapist and as the practice of radiation therapy can prove emotionally draining, Evelyn Wong interested her husband in the study of Chinese art to relieve the strain of his medical practice.

Caught in the fervor of what he was doing, he enjoyed researching his new interest. He has collected many and various types of antiques, but find that his real interest is jade.

Dr. Wong and Evelyn have spent many hours frequenting antique shops and out-of-the-way places. It was during one of their trips that they acquired their "chicken-bone white" jade. He had developed an expertise in jade and was, therefore, able to discern the quality of the "chicken-bone" breast plate and added it to his collection. Evelyn and Timothy Wong graciously allowed us to display this priceless treasure in our exhibit.

Ceremonial Basket:

The second item I will introduce is a Chinese ceremonial basket. In the summer of 1973, while searching through the curio and antique shops on "Cat Street" in Hong Kong, my wife Betty and I were attracted to a box made of lacquered woven wicker. The proprietor referred to it as a "wedding" box. He suggested that it had been used about 100 years ago for weddings. Attracted by its handsome traditional shape and its beauty and quality of execution, it greatly impressed us. Realizing that something this beautiful must be significant, we purchased it. We then proceeded to track down any and all information we could find that pertained to it and its use. We found minimal material on the usage of the baskets or their perpetuation in Chinese society. Lillie Lew and I found limited textual material that merely described the size, shape and dynasty dates. No mention was made of the interesting iconography or the basket's usage. I suspect that Mrs. Lew and I are preparing the definitive work on this subject.

Most of our beginning clues were obtained by talking to grandparents who remembered seeing the boxes used and who had anecdotes about the boxes that had been related to them by their ancestors. We were then able to go to textual material on Chinese society and piece the anecdotes and tidbits of textual materials together. We discovered, as we had suspected, these baskets are an integral part of Chinese culture and history.

We discovered also that it was a custom unique to Chinese weddings, to use portable, utilitarian baskets often called wedding boxes, made of woven wicker or wood, surfaced with lacquer and embellished with exquisite drawings and designs. Used for the transportation of edibles, money and/or trousseau items to the family of the bride-to-be, these containers were produced with a high degree of quality by craftsmen of consummate skill. We were able to identify traditional shapes, techniques and symbols found on the wedding basket that I am going to discuss.

A large wedding basket, it is made of woven wicker wood, finished in lacquer for looks and for protection against termites and other insects, with carved handles and fittings of hammered bronze. It is 15¼″ high and 15¼″ round. From the bottom to the top of the handle, it is 22¼″ high. The handle is attached to each side of the basket with a stylized bronze bat symbolizing felicity, decorated with a lotus flower representing purity. In the center of each bat design is a coin pattern symbolizing wealth. All these symbols are to help the newlyweds in their marriage.

The large flat-fitted wooden handle that circumscribes the basket exhibits a carved geometric design in which a swastika, representing infinity, can be discerned. Cresting this large wood handle is a small bronze handle bearing two stylized phoenixes, for double happiness, in a dorsal format repeating and emphasizing the characters on the lid, reinforcing the wish for successful marriage. The portion of the wooden handle running down each side of the basket is intricately carved with squirrels and grapes which were again symbols of longevity. Terminating the handle at the base of the basket are three stylized bronze fittings symbolizing the three "manys": many happiness, many years of life and many male children. This is repeated on both sides.

The central portion of the handle employs the same format on both sides of the basket; calligraphy at the top followed by four Taoist immortals immediately below, eight immortals in all.

On one side of the basket, the Chinese characters identify the Young Family as the original owners of the basket: on the other side the calligraphy indicates a date, 1874, the Year of the Dog.

Each immortal symbolizes an attribute for a successful marriage. For example, Ho Hsien Ku, the female sage, who assists in home management is carved in bas-relief holding a lotus blossom.

This basket is a good specimen of the genre. Utilitarian, it remains an art object of distinction. In our exhibit we had a complete traditional wedding scene; the basket was part of this setting.

MING PLATE:

The third item that I would like to show is a fine example of a special type of Ming dish (1368-1644).

Ming porcelain is one of the decorative arts for which the Ming Dynasty is noted. Many new techniques, such as the development of the underglazed blue which started in the Yuan Dynasty, were furthered in the early Ming days.

Surfaces of pieces were often slightly irregular, with thick transparent glaze applied. The glazes grew from an austere, simple two-color glaze to rich, colorful five-color enamels which reached their highest development at the end of the Ming era. Using a complex process, various shades and tones of red, green and yellow would be applied over the underglaze. The ware would then be fired after each application of glaze.

The porcelains were not the end result of one man's work. One craftsman would make the pot, one would glaze it, one would decorate it. Each craftsman, in most cases, would be skilled in his family's specialization, with techniques being passed down from one generation to the next.

It was during the later part of the Ming Dynasty that illustration on pottery started to change. The book *Avery Brundage Collection of Chinese Ceramics* indicates that artists began to include pictorial anecdotal scenes as very popular decoration material, often relying heavily on contemporary subject matter for inspiration.

The Ming Dish I am going to discuss became the possession of Mr. and Mrs. William Chang, proprietors of a Chinese restaurant in Fresno. Second generation American, William is the grandson of Hi Loy Chang, one of the original Chinese pioneers in our Valley.

William Chang and his wife Florence have always been interested in Chinese art and enjoyed living with it. Their restaurant has huge wood carvings on the walls that once belonged to his wife's family. Carved in deep bas-relief, then gilded, they are striking and set an immediate atmosphere for art appreciation.

The Changs are friendly, warm people and this atmosphere permeates their establishment. It was this same warmth and friendliness that eventually made them the owners of an exciting Ming Dish.

William Chang's first business venture was a service station, where he met Bob Jones, another service station owner. With similar interests, they became good friends. After William sold his service station, the Changs and Florence's sister opened a Chinese restaurant. Bob and his wife would visit the Changs and eat at their restaurant frequently.

After Bob died, his wife Helen remained good friends with William and Florence and they continued to visit each other. Helen would tell the Changs about a Ming Dish that they had inherited from her mother who had lived in Santa Barbara. In talking about it she told the Changs she was going to leave it to them in her will. Later Helen became ill and bedridden. With true compassion, William and Florence made special efforts to visit her often, particularly at holiday times and cook her Chinese food that she enjoyed. They remained close friends until her death. Much to their surprise, as they had never seen the plate and didn't know that it actually existed, they found themselves the inheritors of a beautiful Ming dish.

The plate was brought to our attention when a friend, Mr. King, invited us to join him for dinner at the Chang's restaurant where William kept the

Ming Dish in his safe. Mr. King's brother, John, had seen the dish before and was eager for us to see it.

Approximately 14" round, it is shallow in depth and has a crackled glaze. The center contains a scene that is suggestive of old-fashioned jostling bouts. The rim is brown with geometric designs in ancient Chinese motifs. Deep green "serrated" foliage in the left rear and front foreground create a space in which the action proceeds.

Animated figures on horseback and foot, flying banners, and two forceful looking men in the front foreground are arranged in a circular design. On the extreme left and right are dignitaries standing with their banners watching the scene, their eyes forcing your eyes to the scene they are watching.

The white horse on the left and the gaily decorated horse on the right, each have one foot lifted, thereby adding to the feeling of motion.

The flowing banners extending from slanted staffs create diagonal thrusts, producing a canopy effect under which the action is taking place. Since the glazes and composition are unique to the Ming Dynasty, our task of authenticating was not a difficult one. This plate did not appear in our exhibit, but was a result of it, and is part of our ongoing research.

T'ANG CAMEL:

The final object I would like to show you is a T'ang Camel. The T'ang Dynasty (618-909 A.D.) was a cosmopolitan one that produced a varied and prolific amount of luxurious arts, among which were an outstanding amount of burial figurines (ming-ch'i). These figurines encompassed all forms of secular subjects: animals, humans, dishes, furnitures, etc., the purpose of ming ch'i was to be installed in the owner's tomb upon his demise as substitute possessions.

Many of these figurines have come to light through excavations in China. Realistic horses and camels are most predominant, and express the vigor and energy of the T'ang Dynasty aesthetic. Done with consummate skill, pieces of up to three feet in height were fired successfully. The majority of the figurines are richly colored lead-glazed earthenware.

It was with great pride that we were able to present an authenticated T'ang Camel as a prominent feature in our Art Exhibit. Its arrival in Fresno was due entirely to the mental acquisitiveness of one man, Peter Brown.

Born in Visalia, California, Peter is an artist of considerable reputation. His work has been displayed from New York to California and he enjoys the distinction of having many one-man shows; and of having much of his work enhance public places.

Mr. Brown has studied at the College of the Sequoias, Vienna and Austria, and continues to study and work in New York and in Europe. It was while on a study sojourn in New York in 1956 that he discovered a statue of a camel.

Peter and his wife Rose were decorating their rented apartment in New York. Peter went out to purchase curtain rods. Unable to obtain them in the normal places due to their odd size, he went to an upholstery shop near 74th Street in New York. The owner thought he might be able to fabricate them. They went into the rear of the shop to see if he had any useable material available. Brown spied a pile of debris on a high shelf that seemed to also contain some glazed ceramic fragments that looked like parts of an animal's belly.

Intrigued by the shrads, he asked the owner if he wanted to sell the pieces so that he might put them together. There was something about the fragments that kept drawing him to them. The proprietor told him that one day he would get them down and for him to stop in again sometime in the future.

Peter eventually got his curtain rods and made several trips back to the second-hand store to inquire about the glazed pieces of ceramic. On his fourth visit, the upholsteror had gotten the fragments down and had them laid out on a work bench. There were four pieces. Most of them were still covered with dry tomb scum. The Fresno man asked the cost and the price was set at $3.00.

The purchase was made on Friday 13, 1956. While trying to clean them at home, Peter had a growing suspicion that his purchase was more valuable than he at first suspected. To confirm his suspicion that he had an antique of value, the artist took the four fragments to C. T. Loo Company of New York, a respected connoisseur dealer in Chinese art. Here the authenticity of the camel pieces was established. His suspicions supported – he now owned a T'ang Camel. He was informed that only one craftsman in New York was able to do the fine work required for repairing the camel. This man worked for the Museum of Natural History. When approached, he happily accepted the task of restoration.

When the artist picked up the repaired camel, the restorer pointed out that the kiln stand opening in the rear was one indication to its age. He had also cleaned the tomb scum off to reveal the beauty of the glaze, again authenticating its age (1069-1357 years old). Now the camel was intact: 15½″ from the bottom to the top of his head, 11″ from rump to chest, and 7″ long in the legs. Its head oscillated gracefully on a 9″ neck; it commanded the space it occupied by its sheer presence.

The camel stands on four legs and stretches up from the chest to the muzzle in a serpentine movement arresting the viewer's vision with its slow grace. Potential energy and vitality emanate from its very being.

On the terra cotta body, the glaze has a vibrancy created by its flowing transparent rhythm that follows the stance. Particularly noticeable is the flow of opaque white glaze down the neck moving swiftly to the side of the chest juncture, and then swiftly flowing down the leg. Over part of this flows a transparent yellow-brownish thin glaze, in parts acting almost as a graining.

In other areas, as in the white of the neck, a thin arabesque line follows the natural curvature of the body enhancing its sculptural power. The saddle is splashed with a complimentary transparent green mingling with the white and brown areas, adding subtle vibrant color which activates the contained space in the saddle area. In totality, full-bodied, aristocratic, animated, graceful and expressive; the figurine provides one with a vignette of the high style of T'ang art.

An artist's eye for color, and his innate-sensitivity to the quality of a bit of glazed fragment that caught his eye – plus perseverance until he finally got possession of the broken pieces – were the fortunate circumstances that brought a T'ang Camel to Fresno. In our Art Show it was placed on a high pedestal in the center of the main room where its power and dignity commanded attention.

These were just four examples out of many Chinese art artifacts of high quality that we have discovered in the Fresno area. We will continue researching, compiling, and authenticating the data and, because of the strong interest shown in our work by the community, we are collecting the material for publication.

THE CANTONESE OPERA: A CHAPTER IN CHINESE-AMERICAN HISTORY

By

Ronald Riddle

One of the unfortunate anomalies of Far Eastern studies in America is the focus by scholars and universities on the language and culture of North China, almost to the exclusion of other regional traditions. Although such a focus finds justification in various ways, it results in such studies being of very limited help with respect to understanding the traditions of America's own Chinese population, which of course is primarily South Chinese by birth or ancestry. To cite perhaps the most obvious example of such academic one-sidedness, one can study Mandarin Chinese at any number of American colleges and universities, but courses in the Cantonese dialect are almost none-existent. Hence the diligent student can eventually learn to converse in the official tongue of Peking or Taipei but is at a linguistic loss when it comes to communicating in Chinese within his own country.

A related and similarly unfortunate result of our North China fixation is a continuing ignorance of the musical and dramatic traditions of the southern provinces. One of the most prominent of such traditions is that of the Cantonese opera, an art form of great splendor and cultivation which is enjoyed by countless millions of Chinese around the world but which Western scholarship has left virtually untouched. Aside from a few isolated academic typescripts, there is not a single book-length study on this subject in a Western language. Indeed, Cantonese opera is scarcely mentioned in those works which *do* purport to explain the history and varieties of Chinese music-drama but actually devote the bulk of their attention to the Peking opera of the North, which in turn has provided the principal stylistic foundation for modern-day opera in the People's Republic.

In recent years, an elementary understanding of the *Peking* opera has been relatively easy to come by, as books, articles, educational films, and courses in ethnomusicology have helped to explain and publicize the form. Even more ubiquitous of late are the printed materials, performances, and media coverage of the newer styles of Mainland China. But the traditional Cantonese opera has remained largely a mystery, not just to non-Chinese but even to many who speak the Cantonese dialect. Younger Chinese-Americans specially tend to feel that Cantonese opera is purely a thing of the past, kept alive only in their elders' memories and in the inner sanctums of music clubs.

That Cantonese opera is so little understood in the West—and especially in America—is both sad and ironic, since it was performed publically and incessantly for nearly a hundred years in the New World. From the Gold Rush days until the end of the Second World War, San Francisco supported full-time Cantonese opera—sometimes running in two or three theaters at once. Similarly, New York had for many years at least one Chinese theater, and opera performances were frequent events in other large Chinatowns, particularly in the Western states. Yet, by and large, Americans have ignored this art form which has flourished in its own backyard, just as they have largely ignored the ever-present musical cultures of American Indians and of a host of other minority groups. And curiously enough, it appears that American cities harbored some of the very *best* examples of the Cantonese drama, nurtured by loyal Chinatown audiences during the years when opera was the number-one entertainment attraction of any good-sized Chinatown and thus provided financial incentives for first-rate performers from abroad.

In very brief fashion, I should like to outline the years in which the Cantonese opera held sway in American Chinese communities and to highlight both the opera's history itself and the reaction to it as chronicled by non-Chinese observers. My purpose here is not to *explain* Cantonese opera—nor to bury it—but to sketch its history as an American phenomenon.

It was only a few years from the time that the first Chinese immigrants were attracted to California by the discovery of gold until the first troupe of Chinese operatic artists arrived in San Francisco. In October of 1852 a touring company of one hundred and twenty-three performers debarked in San Francisco from Canton. Opening night was October eighteenth—only about a year, incidentally, after the first full-length Western opera had been performed in San Francisco. The theatre company—which called itself the Hong Took Tong—appears to have scored a notable success in this entertainment-starved city. One reviewer who covered the opening night noted that the performance had drawn a full house, a mixed crowd of both Chinese and other San Franciscans. In general, the reviewer's comments could well apply to a modern-day Cantonese-opera performance. The wings of the theater, he said, had been removed for the purpose of giving the greatest room for the production. "The orchestra," in his words,

> [which was] composed of about a dozen musicians, occupied the rear of the stage accompanying the whole performance through with their peculiar strains, and regaling themselves in the interval with their pipes and cigars.[1]

On the whole, the reviewer's notes were restrained and favorable. The novelty and visual beauty of the production apparently more than made up for the incomprehensibility of plot. "The dialogue being of course unintelligible," says the reviewer,

> the American portion of the audience had to enjoy themselves in imagining what was going on, and in admiring the stage properties and the costumes of the numerous performers, some of which were really splendid. The performances were also diversified with some very agile and dextrous . . . tumbling, which seemed to be a portion of the plot. Upon the whole, the exhibition is a great novelty, as such is to an "outside barbarian," and is well worth seeing. . . .[2]

Another reporter had special praise for the ostensible ladyfolk who graced the stage, women of any sort being a rare commodity in this Gold Rush city. The "ladies" in the company, he said, were "altogether the best specimens we have yet been favored with."[3] Unbeknownst to the reviewer, of course, the "ladies" were male actors, specially trained, as actual women had no place on the Chinese stage.

After its initial run in an American playhouse, the resourceful company proceeded to erect its own theater, a pagoda-like structure with a seating capacity of over a thousand. The new theater opened in late December and ran at full tilt throughout the winter, with performances morning and evening, seven days a week. In late March the company announced the end of its season, put the building up for sale, and departed by steamer for points east. A scheduled East Coast tour was to include performances at the Crystal Palace in New York. The company's successes in San Francisco were not destined to be matched by good fortune on the road, however. Their further history was a sad round of postponements, performances without payment, and a variety of other financial woes. Finally the troupe had to rely on charity for the funds to return to China.

But the Hong Took Tong had established the Chinese theatre in San Francisco and had proven that the city's burgeoning Chinese population— with help from Caucasion voyeurs— would provide a ready audience for further operatic ventures. The ill-fated Hong Took Tong was quickly replaced by other touring companies, and within a few years theatrical troupes made treks to the north, making appearances first in Sacramento, then in various locations in the Gold Rush hinterlands—wherever a sizable audience of Chinese could be found. In October of 1856, for example, the *San Francisco*

Bulletin carried a detailed story on performances of Chinese opera in Calaveras County for Chinese miners and their American counterparts. Here a troupe of some thirty actors and musicians performed in a frame building covered with canvas, the structure having been erected at a cost of fifteen hundred dollars and furnished with carpeted stage, theatrical lighting, and all the necessary accouterments for performance.[4] Touring to remote mining camps and other far-flung outposts to stage elaborate performances must have required considerable managerial skill and coordination—not unlike that of the "big-top" days of the circus—but such nomadic forays were actually more akin to the players' existence in China than was the relatively settled theater-life in San Francisco. Moving from town to town and performing in temporary structures was a routine matter for actors from Kwangtung Province, and they were thus well prepared for the exigencies of opera in the Gold Rush country.

By the eighteen-sixties, the Chinese theatre had become an entrenched part of the San Francisco scene. A ready audience was assured: Every tenth person in California in 1860 was Chinese, and by the end of that decade there were sixty-three thousand Chinese in the United States, ninety-nine per cent of whom were on the West Coast. The audience for Chinese opera, however, was by no means exclusively Chinese. Reports of San Francisco's exotic Chinese drama appeared with increasing frequency in newspapers, books, and magazines around the world, as travelers reported their impressions of the City. Once a primitive settlement of rough-and-ready opportunists, San Francisco had become a city of wealth and cultural sophistication, exerting a magnetic charm for vacationers and world travelers. High priority on any visitor's list of sightseeing attractions was Chinatown. And—as in subsequent decades—no trip to Chinatown was complete without a visit to the Chinese theatre. Typically, the occidental visitor's reaction was a sort of stunned fascination which found delight in the colorful costumes and acrobatics, and mystification as regards story-lines and stage conventions. The vocal styles and particularly the instrumental accompaniment evoked reactions that ranged from humor to horror. In any case, there was no denying the theatre's attraction, as typified by the words of a visiting geologist in the early eighteen sixties, who wrote home,

> . . . Whether it was opera, tragedy, or comedy or a mixture of the three, I have no idea—I think it was perhaps a mixture—but it was all comical enough, and yet intensely interesting because of its extreme singularity, so very unlike anything I have ever seen before.[5]

By the end of the sixties, Chinatown could boast three theaters going full time, one of which—erected in 1868—was constructed at considerable expense specifically for the performance of Chinese opera, the other two having been modified for that purpose.

The seventies and eighties were a turbulent time for California's Chinese. A series of economic downturns began with the completion of the transcontinental railroad (and thus a wholesale loss of jobs) in 1869 and culminated in the disastrous depression of the late seventies which stemmed from the petering out of the gold mines and the exhaustion of the Comstock Lode. With a multitude of men out of work and the evaporation of their economic hopes and dreams, the time was ripe for demagoguery and the seeking of scapegoats. In this respect, the hard-working Chinese filled the bill nicely. The decade of the seventies rang increasingly with the shouts that "The Chinese Must Go!", a slogan of the snowballing anti-Chinese sentiment that would finally result in the Exclusion Acts of the 1880s, cutting off virtually all Chinese immigration. During these troubled years, Chinatown was racked with riots and acts of violence. The theaters of the community were the frequent scenes of such disruption. As the largest indoor gathering places in Chinatown, they were both a target of anti-Chinese agitation and a setting for violence among the Chinese themselves, whose internecine conflicts aggravated the general air of racial tension and hostility. It may seem curious that against this gathering storm of hatred and economic defeat, the Chinese theaters flourished and grew, reaching a peak in the late seventies, when there was a veritable boom in the construction of new Chinese theaters. But then it is not uncommon for the business of entertainment to prosper during times of general economic adversity. In this case, the Chinese were walled into their San Francisco ghetto as they never were before, and for many of them the opera was perhaps the closest thing to escape. For others, escape took a more literal form, and a gradual exodus took place to areas less inflamed by anti-Chinese hysteria. In the new Chinatowns which grew up in large cities around the country, outposts of the Chinese theatre developed. By the late seventies, a full-time Chinese theatre had been established in Portland, Oregon, and eventually other cities followed suit, notably New York and Boston. Chinese opera was thus becoming a national institution of sorts, and touring companies from Canton and Hong Kong had a wide circuit to cover, rather than being confined to San Francisco and the boondocks of the Gold Rush country.

In San Francisco itself, the theatre continued to be the showplace of sojourning operatic troupes from China. That the orchestras of such foreign-based companies would occasionally be fleshed out with local musicians, however, is suggested by the establishment in Chinatown in 1877 of a small training school for musicians, established explicitly for the instruction of local youths in the music of the Cantonese opera. In the same year, a new Chinese theatre was constructed in Chinatown, and still another one was erected two years later. The boom in theater building attests to the vitality of the art form during those hectic years and to the optimism of the entrepreneurs that theatrical prosperity would continue, despite widespread economic doldrums and the crescendo of anti-Chinese outcries. Their optimism proved warranted, at least for the time being, as the theatre continued to flourish in the eighties. It was not until the final decade of the century that the effects of anti-Chinese legislation finally resulted in a reduction of Chinatown's population and a consequent decline in the fortunes of the Chinese theatre. For Chinese opera in America, the Golden Age had passed. The final curtain, as it were, was rung down by the 1906 earthquake, which devastated Chinatown and abruptly called a halt to the opera-theatre's half-century reign as the unquestioned entertainment center of the Chinese community.

In fits and starts, Chinese opera did continue to be performed in San Francisco during the early decades of the twentieth century, often in makeshift circumstances in quarters designed for other purposes. Finally in 1924 the first theater to be erected for Chinese opera in forty-five years was opened on Grant Avenue, followed a year later by another theater on Jackson Street—both of which survive in the present day as movie houses.

The twenties and thirties saw much change in the Cantonese opera. Western instruments such as the violin and saxophone gradually infiltrated the orchestras. A low-voiced style of singing—almost crooning—was often employed. The classical embroidery of opera costumes gave way to sequins. The simplicity of the old settings yielded to the Western procenium-stage, elaborately littered with props and modern-day backdrops. Perhaps the most profound change was in the use of women on stage, a move which had good effects at the box office but which rather precipitously wiped out the centuries-old art of female impersonation in the classically all-male art form.

The Cantonese opera would continue to hold its own for some years in San Francisco, New York, and other major Chinatowns. But it would never again reach the heights of success that it gained in the nineteenth century. Movies, and especially talking pictures, proved to be a devastating competition. Theater-owners were readily won over to the relative simplicity and lack of logistical and personnel problems inherent in showing motion pictures. Even the opera theaters themselves alternated live performances with movie nights. Still the opera maintained a tenuous hold as a cultural and tourist attraction.

When China was plunged into war with Japan, numerous stars of the Cantonese stage were effectively stranded in the United States for the duration. A few of these became permanent residents, but the majority returned to China at the end of the Second World War to resume their careers where they had left off. This exodus to the homeland naturally depleted the American Cantonese theatre and dealt the local opera stage a blow from which it would never recover. Occasional short-lived tours of opera companies to American Chinatowns would continue sporadically even to the present time, but continuous Chinese-opera theatre in America was essentially a thing of the past, a victim, as it were, of World War II. The increasing costs of importing opera companies, together with the proliferating bureaucratic red tape involved in admitting them to these shores, became prohibitive, in light of declining box-office revenues. Further, the competition of the movies and finally television would prove decisive by the late forties. And finally, the liberalization of immigration laws for Chinese women and the removal of other restrictions on America's Chinese caused a gradual change from a once virtually all-male ghetto to a community in which family life and the home became the center of activity. Many families found the means to move away from Chinatown itself, and the once-captive audience for the Cantonese opera, for all practical purposes, simply ceased to exist.

The extinction of the full-time Chinese theatre in America did not, however, signal an end to all interest in the genre. Even in the present day, the sales of opera recordings, the popularity of Cantonese-opera radio broadcasts, and even piped-in opera "muzak" to Chinatown's garment factories attest to a continuing love of the form, especially for older Chinese. The most important institution through which opera traditions have been kept alive in America, however, is the private music club. A half-dozen clubs devoted to Cantonese opera are presently in existence in San Francisco, and others have been formed in the Chinese communities of New York, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Honolulu. San Francisco's clubs date mostly from the 1940s, as if to take up the slack left by the departure of the full-time theatre. One such club, the Nam Chung Musical Society, dates back to 1925 and celebrated its golden anniversary only a week ago [on 4 July 1975]. Once the province of Chinatown bachelors who emulated the professional theatre for recreation, Nam Chung has become a family-centered organization whose huge membership includes many present and former professional opera players, who coach the predominantly amateur membership and help enliven the four- and five-hour sessions of opera music on weekend nights at the club's Chinatown headquarters. Other smaller clubs operate much in the same fashion, providing the stage, musical instruments, and encouragement for members to recreate the sounds and sights of Cantonese opera in its palmier days.

There is little question but that the classical Cantonese opera, here and abroad, has seen its best days. Even with occasional touring performances and the lively activities of music clubs, the form appeals almost entirely to an older generation of Chinese. In recent years other types of Chinese music have gained a foothold in America's Chinatowns. One now finds a veritable kaleidoscope of musical styles—musical clubs specializing in traditional Peking opera, others in purely instrumental music, still others in the vocal and instrumental music of the People's Republic. Almost totally unbeknownst to outsiders, America's urban Chinese communities are hotbeds of musical activity, more so now than at any other time of their history. Many of Chinatown's youth now find that the learning and cultivation of Chinese music and musical instruments fosters a sense of ethnic identity and pride. While the classical Cantonese opera itself has ceased to be a commercially viable enterprise, it lives on in the varieties of music and music-drama it has helped to spawn. In very recent years, a new variety of Cantonese opera has been emerging in Mainland China, whose principal output of "revolutionary" operas are more customarily tailored to the Mandarin dialect. Some of these works are now being performed in Cantonese, and thus a whole new tradition of Cantonese music-drama is emerging and has already been reflected in the musical activities of America's Chinese communities.

Like the phoenix—beloved in Chinese mythology and drama—the Cantonese opera appears to be entering a new life. Though altered in plot and ideology, and removed from a purely commercial milieu, the new Cantonese opera once again helps to embody not just a Chinese approach to life and art, but a specifically Cantonese approach. In historical perspective we may find that the venerable tradition of Cantonese music-drama in America's Chinese communities is simply entering a new phase, rather than becoming a closed chapter—albeit a fascinating one—in the cultural history of America's Chinese.

Sources quoted:

[1] *Alta California*, 20 October 1852.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *San Francisco Herald*, 19 October 1852.
[4] *San Francisco Bulletin*, 6 October 1856.
[5] W. H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864* (New Haven, 1930), p. 366.

Comment: Chingwah Lee, *Chinese Historical Society of America*

11:45- 1:00 p.m. Lunch

1:00- 2:00 p.m.

#3 — LOCAL HISTORY

Chairman: Edward C. Lydon, *Cabrillo College, Aptos, Calif.*

A HISTORY OF THE CHINESE IN FRESNO, CALIFORNIA

By

S. Michael Opper and Lillie L. Lew

The history of Fresno, California would not be complete without including the Chinese, for the early Chinese played an important role in the building and development of the San Joaquin Valley. In the 1850's they were introduced to Millerton and Coarsegold through gold mining, other trades, and adventure.

The Americans who were mining below and above Millerton excluded the Chinese from original discoveries. So found on a page of the mining records written in Chinese and translated in English was the following in July 19, 1861: "We, a company of 12 Chinamen, Sue and Company, claim the bed of the river one mile above Fort Miller." This was one of the many reasons the Chinese settled near the river in Millerton.

Other reasons the residents segregated the Chinese from that area were because the Chinese who had general merchandise stores sold their merchandise not only to their own people but to the white miners who came to them for mining equipment and supplies because of their fair prices; some felt that the very appearance of the Chinese was corrupting their children by their strange sounding language, their long hair, their different food habits (chopsticks); and these men bathe in the nude daily after working in the water twelve hours a day.

The Chinese did not mind living away from the main part of town for during the time of the Civil War, the soldiers re-occupied Fort Miller which was one-half mile from the Chinese quarters and found it easier to buy from the Chinese merchants than to go into town. Also if they became drunk, they would be away from the law and less liable to be picked up and be punished. By the end of 1870 there were 309 Chinese living in Millerton, including 18 women. The Fort Miller Blockhouse, erected in 1851, is now restored in Roeding Park, Fresno, California.

In 1872 the Central Pacific Railroad was completed to the Fresno Station and many inhabitants decided to move to the new town. So by 1874 when the county seat was moved from Millerton to Fresno, there were 200 Chinese at the Celebration. Most of them had begun to establish new businesses and residences in the new city by the railroad. For many years Fresno's Chinatown was the meeting place for other Chinese in the surrounding towns of Hanford, Visalia, Armona, Lemoore and even as far as Bakersfield.

Some of the occupations of these Chinese at that time were: contracting labor, constructing irrigation ditches, gardening, cooking, doing general housework, operating herb stores, managing laundries, grocery stores, restaurants and even a Chinese opera house.

Fresno's Chinatown, not unlike other Oriental quarters, was situated near the railroad tracks. This area was limited to a four-block square – China Alley and G Street between Kern and Mariposa.

The first groups of Chinese to settle in the Fresno area were Cantonese from the Sam Yup and the Chungshan regions of Kwangtung province. As early as 1887 the Sam Yup group had established a company house of their own in China Alley. On G Street was located the Kong Chow Society Temple and next to it the Chinese Association or Six Companies. Then came the fraternal and "single men" groups such as the Bing Kung Tong, the Suey On Tong and numerous others.

The main content of this research paper will consist of four biographical studies of significant personages who have contributed to the development of the Central San Joaquin Valley and illustrated in the back of the article with historical pictures of Fresno Chinatown in the 1920's, the families of these four persons, and a few photographs of the First Chinese Baptist Church when it was a Mission from 1882 to 1918, the period before Miss Amy Purcell took over as missionary from 1918 to 1947. [Pictures not used.–Ed.]

The sources of the material were obtained by personal interviews with families of the personages, old newspaper articles from the Fresno Republican and the Fresno Bee, and interviews with friends of the family and with Amy Purcell, the missionary, who still lives in Fresno and is now 93 years of age.

FOUR SIGNIFICANT PERSONAGES

SAM WING CHEE (1849-1937)

Sam Wing Chee was born in 1849, the eldest son of Sam Sui Ying, in Kwangtung province, China, Poon Yu District.

In addition to those who came to America, knowing no one but still prepared to seek their fortune, were those fortunate few who came and settled with relatives who were already here. One such fortunate man was Sam Wing Chee. He arrived in Millerton around 1869 to enter into an already established general merchandise store founded by his uncle, Sam King Ying sometime before 1869. This general merchandise store was one of the three Chinese businesses in Millerton. So it was with family help that Sam Wing Chee came to understand life in Gum Sun (Gold Mountain).

Wing Chee worked in his uncle's business in Millerton until 1872. When the Central Pacific Railroad was completed to the Fresno Station the community of Chinese in Millerton moved to Fresno's west side. It was here on 1019 G Street that the Tong Duck and Tong Sing General Merchandise store was relocated.

Years later when more Chinese came over to work for the railroad, new arrivals discovered room and board for themselves in Fresno's west side. This area was contained within walking distance of the railroad and to this day is still known as Chinatown. Bounded by G and F Streets on the north and south, and Mariposa and Kern Streets on the east and west, our famous China Alley runs east and west, right down the center of this section where the major Chinese population settled at that time. It was to service this growing Chinese community that Wing Chee's store was opened, selling work clothes, Chinese herbs, Chinese groceries, and all types of Chinese sundries. As the community grew, his business prospered.

From his selling he became interested in agri-business and so he financed many orchards and vineyards in the Hanford, Armona and Lemoore areas.

During the period from 1875 to 1908 he made frequent trips back to his homeland to set up the family estate and to get married. Indeed the records indicate three marriages in China. From these three marriages he sired two offspring. In 1898 he married Kong Soo Lum, his fourth wife, in Fresno. She was only 16 years of age. Early marriages were quite common in America at that time, not only for the Chinese. From this union there were fourteen children of which twelve are still living. They are all living in the United States; the eldest being 75 years old in San Francisco and two in Fresno.

In 1930 Wing Chee retired at age 81. He died in 1937 when he was 89 years old and his wife died in 1938. He lived a long, vigorous, productive life and contributed much to the community of Fresno with his general merchandise store, service to his own people, active in his family association, and had his children educated so that today they are successful citizens.

AH KITT (1830-1895)

Ah Kitt was born and educated in China and came to America in the 1850's in search of new adventure. His occupation in China was in the blacksmith business so when he came to Millerton he, naturally, opened a blacksmith shop. Most of his patrons were Americans. He spoke very little English, just enough to get by in his work.

His shop was located near a small creek where the community of Chinese lived and each day he would bring his horses there for water. It was there that he met his future partner in business, Jefferson Milam Shannon, a hog raiser (one of his many trades), who also brought his stock there for water.

When the county seat moved to Fresno Ah Kitt and Jefferson Shannon decided to open a blacksmith shop on what is now Merced Street, between H and Broadway. Besides his many trades, Jefferson was the deputy sheriff of Fresno County, the first railroad station agent, and sold town lots for the Pacific Improvement Company. This company consisted of the "Big Four"—Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins and Charles Crocker—with whom Jefferson had become acquainted with. With Ah Kitt's experience in blacksmithing and Jefferson Shannon's connections in acquiring a lot in a very favorable part of town, they became good friends in business and personal life.

When Ah Kitt's first son was born in 1867 he named him Jefferson Shannon Kitt, after his friend. Following old Chinese customs, when the baby was a month old there was a big celebration in Ah Kitt's humble home. The American friends who attended the party had never seen such festivities and enjoyed immensely the delicious Chinese food, especially the red eggs and red envelopes with money inside.

Ah Kitt and his wife had four children, two girls and two boys. He lived until 1895 and never returned to China.

Jefferson Shannon Kitt grew up in a basement apartment on 1051 G Street. Upstairs was a tailor shop owned by the Chow family. On November 1, 1894 when he was 27 years old, he was married to Ah Lin Lee, the eldest of eleven children. After their marriage, they moved to 1050 China Alley. To support his family of four boys — Gam, Nick, Creichton, and Fred — he did many odd jobs such as labor contracting, interpreter for the Chinese who did not speak English and whatever was asked of him.

Since Ah Lin came from a large family and Chinese girls did not attend either English or Chinese schools in those days, she educated herself in Chinese by listening to others read the newspapers and Chinese novels and by asking questions. The writer, who happens to be a niece of Ah Lin, remembers the times her aunt used to read and tell of these Chinese stories and folk tales. Even though Ah Lin had "bound" feet she got around quite well in taking care of her family, cooking and sewing for them. Because she loved girls and didn't have any, she took care of her four nieces when her sister died quite young.

Jefferson Shannon Kitt died quite young, at the age of 41 but his wife, Ah Lin, lived till she was in her 60's.

As of this writing, April 1975, one of Jefferson's sons is still living in Los Angeles by the name of Creichton Kitt Leong (Leong is their Chinese surname). Creichton and his wife, Laura, have three daughters, Winifred, Lorraine, and Betty. They are all living in California.

Creichton is now 77 years old, retired from his insurance and accounting business but still very active and healthy. Frequently he travels to the San Joaquin Valley to visit his relatives and to fish and play golf.

Hi Loy Wong

Hi Loy Wong was born and educated in China. When he was sixteen years of age he came to California in search of gold, like many Chinese at that time. Before he made his trip his parents had married him to a girl in his province so that he would someday return to China. He was one of a family of three boys and one girl.

Hi Loy's job was with the Miller-Lux ranch in Los Banos. Mr. Miller owned many acres of land for cattle in California, Nevada, Oregon and Arizona; he was called the "Cattle King of the West." Hi Loy worked with the Miller family as a hired help and all-around boy, helping them around the house and lived with them. They thought a great deal of him and taught him all the American way of life and treated him just like he was their son. Mr. Miller even told him to put up a tent and homestead there and he could get as much land as he wanted, but he said to Mr. Miller, "Mr. Miller, I don't want all this land. My parents tell me I have to go back to China and die. I don't want it." Years later when he was raising his fourteen children, he realized what a mistake he had made by not listening to Mr. Miller's advice. He could have acquired all that land free and become a millionaire.

He never returned to China to his first wife but did get married to a girl here in California. This was a "picture-marriage" to Lily Lum, an American-born from the little town of Almaden, San Jose area. A "picture-marriage" is when the marriage is arranged by matchmakers with photographs of the two parties concerned. Lily was only thirteen years old when she married Hi Loy, who was thirty-three, twenty years her senior.

Lily's father was from one of the first groups of Chinese who came over from China during the Gold Rush Days in California. He landed in San Francisco and then went to the Almaden area to pan for quicksilver. But he didn't like what he was doing, especially wearing khaki pants, khaki jackets, bamboo hats, and a Chinese queue hanging down the back of his neck. He just couldn't stand it. So he immediately cut off his queue, parted his hair the English style and got himself a black, long-tailed coat and wore a Windsor tie. He then went to Almaden County and applied for a job. He was hired as supervisor to hire the Mexican people to work in mining quicksilver. He was called "Sam, the boss." Since he worked daily with these people, he spoke excellent Spanish besides Chinese and English.

His family in China sent a "picture-bride" of twelve years of age to California to meet and to marry him. They were married and after the children reached the ages of around ten, they moved to San Francisco. It was in San Francisco where his daughter Lily and Hi Loy were married.

After the wedding the Hi Loy Wongs moved to Fresno and opened the Hi Loy Company, a general merchandise store, on G and Kern Streets. One of his brothers was sent from China to help him in the store. Besides selling general merchandise he contracted Chinese labor for the farmers in the area since he spoke three languages. Many Chinese would come to Fresno to work in the grapes and the fruits, so he would contract these laborers, giving them groceries, denim clothes, bamboo hats and whatever they needed for their jobs, all on credit. After the fruit season and the laborers were paid their wages, they would return to Fresno and pay Hi Loy for what they owed him.

Hi Loy was a very successful business man and had a family of fourteen children. His eldest son is now 86 years old and still lives in Fresno. One of his daughters, 76 years of age, is a very capable and successful insurance agent and was the first Chinese woman to qualify for life membership in the Million Dollar Round Table in Life Insurance. She travels all over the world and is still active in the insurance field which she started in the early 1940's and sells, much to her pride, to the third generation Chinese she has known. Another of Hi Loy's daughters is married to a very prominent physician in Fresno; and another son who is in his seventy's is still managing a produce business in Los Angeles.

Hi Loy died at the age of 68 and contributed much to the community of Fresno, California.

Amy Purcell (1882-)

"Our care should not be so much to live long, as to live well." Amy Purcell, ninety-three years of age this April, has managed to do both – live long and wisely. Small of stature, large of heart, she has made a monument out of her life. She says that she expects to live "as long as the Lord can use me" and one is tempted to reply that as long as she does live, she is of use to the Lord.

Born April 8, 1882 in Marion Center, Kansas, the daughter of Dutch parents, Mary and David Purcell, Amy Purcell spent a major portion of her adult life doing missionary service in Fresno's Chinese section. From her earliest childhood days, indoctrinated by her father to "not to be lazy, make your life account to something," Amy was active in church work. Attending meetings and Christian conferences kept her in touch with missionaries whose work she admired.

Miss Purcell's education continued through 1911 when after three years of attendance, she graduated from the Baptist Missionary Training School in

Chicago. Now known as Colgate Rochester School, it still prepares missionaries and ministers for work at home and abroad.

The beginnings of Amy Purcell's missionary endeavors included working with the Japanese in Seattle in 1913-14 and working among the Italians in Portland, Oregon till May 1915. Her first commission, with a salary of $50.00 a month, was in San Francisco in March 1916. She remained in San Francisco until May 1918 at which time she was called home due to the death of her mother.

In September 1918 she was sent by the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Northern California Baptist Convention to Fresno, California to be the missionary at the Chinese Mission. In addition to her delight in being sent to Fresno because her brother Roy lived there, her salary was increased to $55.00 a month!

During her missionary work in Fresno she kept in close contact with Dr. Charles Shepherd, Director of Chinese Missions in America and later participated in the opening of Chung Mei Home in El Cerrito, California, to help Chinese orphans.

Amy Purcell's introduction to Fresno, however, proved to be startling. Arriving in the middle of a flu epidemic, she was astonished to see all the people on the streets wearing little gauze masks. The epidemic made for a slow start, but eventually she began to win the trust of the Chinese people. In a letter written in 1936 to Miss Oliver Russell, Woman's Home Mission Society in New York, she says, "When I began my work here in the fall of 1918, shortly after Miss Bennet left, there were only a few Chinese homes but many boys and young men living in stores and rooming houses. In the summer time they all went out to work in the fruit. My work was almost entirely with young men, save for the English lessons I was giving the women in their homes. There were few children."

The Chinese mission to which she was sent was located in a house on 1053 E Street. The two front rooms were used for religious services and the rest of the building was converted into rooms for single Chinese young men. It was here that Miss Purcell started her work.

Miss Purcell's early admonitions from the Director of the Board of the American Baptist Home Mission Society included instructions for her to go from house to house teaching English and exposing God's work and prayer to all the Chinese. She was also to instruct the women in domestic duties, care of the family and the sick, institute social gatherings, provide wholesome activities for all age groups such as choir, sewing, cooking, Mother-Daughter teas, Guild Girls and, of course, organize a Bible Study Class and Sunday School.

Little by little she made inroads into the very small Chinese society. She taught English to the young men and went into the homes to teach the few Chinese women to speak English and to learn sewing and cooking. She was not always helped to the best advantage by her colleagues. At times her position was put in jeopardy and called for courage and strength on her part to overcome misunderstandings.

Gradually the Chinese men began to bring their young wives from China and families started. Perhaps the most personally fulfilling moment in Amy Purcell's life was when she started the nursery school in the early 1920's. She calls this the "golden key which unlocked doors to all the homes," and her obvious love of small children reflected in her annual reports.

In 1927 due to the immigration laws, the ranks of the young Chinese were cut off and no college boys were available for the janitorial work at the Mission. Miss Purcell went beyond the call of duty and did the work herself. But discouragement such as that of having to do the janitorial work was offset by joyous moments such as the time in 1928 when she was presented with a bouquet of carnations at a Mother-Daughter Banquet as being the "Mother of the Chinese of Fresno."

The list of activities of the Mission continued to grow until it included girls' art classes, picnics, home canning lessons, family nights, three language schools, a women's society; and in addition to all this, she personally aided in helping the Chinese with their citizenship papers.

By 1937 she considered herself and her Chinese friends and students to be a "family." Their losses during the time of China's invasion were her losses, their sufferings were her suffering.

As the work of the Chinese Mission went on Miss Amy Purcell and her friend and constant volunteer, Ruth Nelson, since 1918, grew older and became more tired. Yet they still continued to work long and hard hours.

In 1942 she requested a leave of absence because of ill health. After two years she did return to the Mission and was required by the new law to take a year of study at Fresno State College in Child Development. In a special letter written in September 19, 1944 to her friends, she spoke flowingly, "With renewed health and also with a new awareness of the needs among our Chinese here, these last six months have been joyous ones indeed. My welcome "home" as the Chinese said, was truly inspiring and touching."

The 1940's saw the status of the Mission being changed to the Chinese Baptist Christian Center and in 1946 the enactment of a longtime dream of Amy Purcell's came true. Under the leadership of Dr. John M. Hestenes the First Chinese Baptist Church was organized. Dr. Hestenes had formerly served as Superintendent of all Christian Center work of the Baptist denomination in America. With a Church established, Amy Purcell was ready to retire.

In her retirement letter of May 1, 1947 to Miss Dorothy Bucklin, Secretary of Missions of the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, she wrote:

> "This Annual Letter is a pivotal point in my life – it is the last one I shall write as a missionary of our beloved Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society. But years do flit by and now it is time to lay aside some of the strenuous living of today, so very different from the starting point

> when the Society sent me to the Japanese work in Seattle in the fall of 1913 . . .
>
> The work with the Chinese is very difficult, they are so very charming that one is nearly swept off one's feet, but one must have great insight and strength of purpose in order to implant the right motives for creative living."

And so Amy Purcell retired, leaving behind her a legacy of hundreds of Christian Chinese. She gave of herself: her thoughts, her deeds, her money. She helped her "family," the Chinese people in Fresno. No story of Amy Purcell, however, is quite complete unless it gives mention and pays homage to Ruth Nelson who, though not a missionary herself, worked hand-in-hand with Amy Purcell and dedicated herself to helping bring Christianity to the Fresno Chinese.

CONFLICT AND CONTACT BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1900-1911

By

L. Eve Armentrout

As is common knowledge, after a brief, initial period of good relations, the attitude of the American community towards the immigrants who came to the United States from China during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was not only unfriendly, but actively hostile. This resulted in the physical mistreatment of individual Chinese in the Americas, in legal restrictions, and in immigration restrictions dedicated to limiting or even eliminating any further immigration from China, and forcing Chinese residents of the United States to return to their native land. In addition, laws were passed that made it impossible for the vast majority of Chinese to become naturalized American citizens. Much of this mistreatment of Chinese in the United States was done in violation of the treaties between China and the United States.

One result of this ill-treatment was to isolate the Chinese from the indigenous American community, an isolation strengthened by the language barrier and significant differences in both customs and social systems. The Chinese and American communities were not entirely separated from each other, however. If nothing else, periodic conflict brought them into contact. In addition, many overseas Chinese admired various aspects of the social and political systems obtaining in the United States, although, of course, deploring the fact that the ideal of equality prescribed by the American constitution was not always adhered to by the American people and government.

Many writers have already commented on the discrimination against overseas Chinese in the United States. Most often, however, the implication has been that the Chinese community was relatively passive and helpless against these attacks. Furthermore, those elements in the American community who sympathized with the Chinese cause have often been overlooked. By studying three major instances of conflict between the Chinese and American communities as well as commenting on some other forms of contact between the two during the period 1900 to 1911, this paper hopes to show that the Chinese community could both actively and in some cases, successfully, rise to meet the challenge of the American community's hostility. In addition, it did so largely through the knowledgeable utilization of the United States' governmental institutions. Finally, this paper will hope to show that the attempts on the part of various elements in the Chinese and American communities to form a common bond through a mutually shared interpretation of justice failed to materialize during the period 1900-1911, thus leaving the Chinese community in its original isolation. For the purpose of concreteness, this study will concentrate on the city of San Francisco, although particularly with reference to the boycott movement of 1905, other areas will also be dealt with.[1]

There are several reasons for concentrating on San Francisco. In the first place, in the period under discussion, this city and its immediate environment had the largest population of overseas Chinese in the Americas. In 1901, the Chinese population of San Francisco was 30,000 or so, as compared with 25,767 in all of Hawaii, 10,000 in Oakland, and 8,000 in New York City. Furthermore, the Chinese population in San Francisco was quite active politically, and was the reputed headquarters of all the major social organizations of the overseas Chinese in the Americas, such as the Chinese Six Companies (Chung-hua tsung hui-kuan), clan associations, political parties, and the Chih-kung t'ang. Finally, there is more informaation concerning affairs in San Francisco than in any other part of the Americas, partly because it had the largest number of Chinese-language newspapers, and partly because many of these newspapers have found their way into collections to which the public has access.[2]

The conflicts and contact between the Chinese and the American communities between 1900 and 1911 can be roughly divided into two categories, positive and negative, according to whether the primary intent or result was to bring the two communities closer together, or to further isolate them. The classification "positive contact" will also be used in cases where a conflict between the two communities arose which was solved to the satisfaction of the Chinese community, or those elements of the Chinese community most directly involved in the conflict. The three major conflicts to be discussed are the quarantine of San Francisco's Chinatown in 1900, the movement to improve the treatment of and lessen the immigration restrictions against Chinese which culminated in the 1905 boycott of American goods, and the attempt in 1911 to deny to native-born American citizens of the Chinese race the right to vote in California elections.

The quarantine of San Francisco's Chinatown was the culmination of a series of events that first got started in 1899 when American officials in Hawaii learned that cases of death from plague had been reported in Hongkong. Reacting to this news, in the winter of 1899-1900 and the early spring of 1900, health authorities in Hawaii decided that they had found evidence of an outbreak of bubonic plague in Honolulu's Chinatown. Acting under the conviction that Hawaii's Chinese residents were alone responsible for the plague menace, for several months people of the Chinese race were forbidden to board steamers bound for the continental United States. Other measures taken, including the burning of a part of Honolulu's Chinatown, need not be discussed here.[3]

In spite of these precautions, in May of 1900, the doctors of San Francisco's Department of Public Health became convinced that bubonic plague had also become entrenched in San Francisco's Chinatown, having been brought there from Hawaii and Hongkong. This news caused the Department of Public Health to rule on its own authority that any persons of the Chinese race who desired to go outside the boundaries of the city and county of San Francisco would first have to submit to an inoculation. This action, which Health Department officials were careful to enforce, was both blatantly discriminatory and illegal (as they had not even bothered to inform the mayor and supervisors), as well as medically unsound.[4]

To counteract this ruling of the Department of Public Health, a Mr. Wong Wai brought suit against the department in the United States District Court. Wong was successful in both the district court ruling and subsequently in the court of appeals, and on May 28, 1900, Public Health officials were ordered to cease and desist. In their rulings, the courts questioned the presence of bubonic plague in San Francisco, questioned the efficacity of the type of inoculation in question, and questioned the legality of restricting the inoculations to people of one race and of acting without proper authorization.[5]

By this time, however, the *San Francisco Examiner*, certain businessmen, many residents and various officials in San Francisco had become alarmed. Convinced that the Hawaiian officials had acted correctly in their anti-plague campaign, they came to the conclusion that a similar campaign should be conducted in San Francisco. It is to be assumed that reports from China concerning the progress of the Boxer Rebellion did nothing to lessen their conviction.[6]

Bringing their campaign to the Board of Supervisors, health officials, led by Dr. Kinyoun and Department Chief Sullivan, were able to convince this body that it would be legal and medically efficacious to enforce a quarantine against all of Chinatown. It might be noted that some businessmen at first opposed this move and any further talk of plague, as they felt this was scaring off customers and hurting them financially. However, in the end, on May 30 a resolution was passed by the supervisors, who turned over the implementation of this quarantine to the Department of Public Health, aided by the police department. The Department of Public Health succeeded in obtaining an ordinance to close up all businesses in San Francisco owned by people of the Chinese race; Chinatown was then surrounded by the police, barricades were put up, and everyone (except officials of the Department of Public Health, properly fumigated mailmen, and a few Christian missionaries) was forbidden to enter or leave the area. An attempt was made (strenuously resisted by the inhabitants) to inoculate everyone within the quarantined area with the same, questionable inoculation used earlier, and there was even a suggestion that Chinatown be razed (after the inhabitants were removed).[7]

Under these circumstances, the Chinese consul in San Francisco, Ho Yu-ch'in demanded that the city of San Francisco at least provide food and other necessities for the trapped residents of the quarantined area. The *Examiner*, which gave the quarantine and the Health Department its full support, reacted most unfavorably to this demand. Agreeing that food was important, the *Examiner* objected to the fashion in which the request was made, noting that "let him [Ho] remember that they [Chinese] are here on sufferance, and that we [white Americans] have some grounds for complaint ourselves."[8] In the meantime, various businessmen raised $28,200 to give to the Board of Health to help defray the expenses of the quarantine, and indicate their support for what the Health Department was doing.[9]

There were several organizations and individuals who fought to secure equal treatment for Chinese and end the quarantine and threats to destroy Chinatown. In particular, the Chinese consul Ho Yu-ch'in, referred to above, the Chinese Six Companies, and in 1900 the only existing Chinese language daily in San Francisco, the *Chung Sai Yat Po (Chung-hsi Jih-pao)* joined together to fight the orders of San Francisco's Department of Public Health.[10]

Their tactics consisted of launching a legal battle, publicizing their cause, and searching for support outside of the Chinese community. In addition, the Chinese Six Companies hired several doctors not connected with the Department of Public Health to come and examine the Chinatown area to see whether or not they found any evidence of bubonic plague. A court order had to be obtained before these doctors were permitted to enter the quarantined area, but this was speedily accomplished. These doctors found no evidence of plague.[11]

The purpose of publicizing their cause, naturally enough, was to increase solidarity within the Chinese community and help in both the legal battle and their efforts to gain wider support. Among the channels they used were the *Chung Sai Yat Po*, which would reach the Chinese community, and a San Francisco English language newspaper rival to the *Examiner*, the *Morning Call*, one of whose reporters attended a public strategy session convened by the Chinese Six Companies and agreed to print their criticisms of the Department of Public Health. The reporter, who noted the capriciousness of the enaction of the quarantine as well as the hardship it imposed on those living in the quarantined area, also publicized the court case the Chinese Six Companies was bringing against the Public Health Department. He further noted that the Chinese community agreed that if legal channels were not effective in ending the quarantine, force would be used.[12]

Apart from the sympathetic report published in the *Morning Call*, support from outside the Chinese community came primarily from various ministers and church groups who had missions in the Chinatown area. They convened a meeting to declare their public support of the Chinese community, after having sent representatives to the aforementioned Chinese Six Companies' meeting and been convinced of the justness of the Chinese cause. That the church groups would send representatives to the meeting probably had much to do with the persuasiveness of their colleagues, the Chinese Christian preachers of San Francisco, one of whom named Wu P'an-chao (Ng Poon Chew) ran the *Chung Sai Yat Po* which was ardently and actively pledged to uphold the Chinese cause.[13]

The legal battle was fought on two fronts. On the one hand, Wu T'ing-fang, Chinese Minister to the United States, presented their cause to the federal government, while on the local level, the Chinese Six Companies hired the American lawyer, Samuel M. Shortridge, to take their case through the local courts. These various efforts resulted in success: on June 19, 1900, Wu T'ing-fang notified the Chinese Six Companies, Consul Ho, and the *Chung Sai Yat Po* that the federal government had wired San Francisco to say that the actions of the Department of Public Health were arbitrary and unjust, and no quarantine could be effected without the permission of the Governor of California. Accordingly, the quarantine was lifted, Chinese businesses allowed to re-open, and no burning took place. A few days later, the local judge also ruled in their favor, and the issue pretty much laid to rest.[14]

The positive aspects in this rather negative episode included the final triumph of justice through the judicial process, the federal government's determination to enforce due process, and the mutual sympathy and interest evident in the relationship between the Chinese community and leaders of the non-Chinese church congregations of San Francisco. In another instance of contact, the question of equal rights for all citizens arose. In spite of the United States government's ruling that people of the Chinese race could not become naturalized citizens, a small number of American citizens were of the Chinese race. This came about through their being born in the United States; in addition, in 1902 it was decided that persons of the Chinese race who had either been born or lived for many years in Hawaii prior to 1900 were also United States' citizens. That this naturalization rule could be circumvented is demonstrated by the American government's decision to deport one such citizen who entered a Congressional race in Hawaii against a white American. This opponent declared the Chinese-American could not prove his long residence, had therefore illegally obtained citizenship, and could not rightfully take part in the Congressional race. Deportation proceedings were subsequently begun against the Chinese-American, and, of course, he was disbarred from the Congressional race.[15]

The case of people of the Chinese race born in the continental United States should have presented no question. However, in 1911, the California legislature attempted to pass a bill making it illegal for American citizens of the Chinese race to vote in California elections. In response, San Francisco's T'ung-yüan Hui, an organization of Chinese-Americans, sent two members to Sacramento to attempt to defeat the bill. The two chosen to go were Lin Hua-yao and Huang Po-yao, the latter, incidentally being a member of the T'ung-meng Hui. They were able to obtain the support of various legislators and through them get permission to address the Legislative Assembly. In their address, they told the Assemblymen that the proposed voting bill violated the ideals of justice; Huang pointed out that it also violated articles fourteen and fifteen of the California constitution. Shortly afterwards, at least in part as a result of their efforts, the bill was defeated in the legislature. Once again, the potential responsiveness of the American system and at least a minimum of American office holders to the demands of justice was demonstrated to the Chinese community.[16]

There are various other instances of positive contact between Americans and the Chinese community in San Francisco. One of these comprises the relationship between non-Chinese Americans, and a Chinese political party, the Pao-huang Hui. Perhaps it might be well, first, to give a brief outline of the relationship between Americans and the principal leaders of this organization, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

In 1899, K'ang Yu-wei first tried to come to the United States to ask this government for the military and diplomatic support necessary to return power in China to the Kuang-hsü Emperor and re-install K'ang as his advisor. Knowing of the Chinese Exclusion treaty between China and the United States and realizing that he did not have the requisite documents with which to effect entry to this country, he first sought to obtain the support of the United States Minister to Tokyo. This official refused K'ang's request, although he did write to the State Department to inform them of K'ang's prominence and the purpose of his projected visit.[17]

Next, K'ang went to Canada and tried to cross the border there. Although given a very warm welcome by Canadian officials, from Prime Minister Laurier on down, and although the United States consul in Victoria was quite anxious to convince Washington to permit K'ang to enter the United States, the Department of the Treasury (which at that time exercised jurisdiction over the matter) was adamant in its refusal, probably more out of consideration for his race than his politics. A second attempt towards the end of the year also failed.[18]

In 1905 after branches of the Pao-huang Hui had been established throughout the United States, K'ang again tried to enter this country and this time succeeded, although primarily due to the actions of the aforementioned United States consul to Victoria, who this time did not consult with Washington before permitting K'ang to enter. Once in the United States, however, K'ang was feted by mayors, governors, and other state and local officials. He generally received excellent press coverage, and was even granted an interview by President Theodore Roosevelt (as well as Secretary of State John Hay). In both the somewhat quasi-legal method of his entry, his subsequent enthusiastic reception by the American press and state and local officials, and his reception by Roosevelt and John Hay, K'ang was but repeating the pattern already established by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in Liang's 1903 visit to the United States. After spending several months in this country, K'ang went to Mexico where he was warmly received by President Diaz.[19]

In 1906, he desired to return to this country via New Orleans, a port hithertofore closed to Chinese, but this privilege was not accorded to him. In addition, his personal request to President Roosevelt that substantive changes be made in the new, internal Chinese Exclusion laws then in effect in the United States met only a very limited response. K'ang did, in fact, return to the United States where he now had various business investments and wealthy American friends as well as his political party, but once again, his entrance was somewhat clandestine: he entered at New York upon the permission of the Chinese Inspector there, which official reported K'ang's entry to the Department of the Treasury only after K'ang had landed. This time, there do not seem to have been any parades in his honor as there were in 1905, and although he retained the support of one of his most influential friends (Charles Ranlett Flint, the "father of the trusts"), American officials on the whole seem to have lost interest in him, a pattern also characterized by his subsequent trips.[20]

Some reference should also be made at this point concerning K'ang Yu-wei and Homer Lea. Although Lea's escapades on behalf of a change in China have been discussed by others, it might be pointed out that the fact that a romantic, militarily inclined (and physically handicapped) Californian should so enthusiastically espouse the cause of the Pao-huang Hui as long as it remained militant, to the point of organizing and training an army for it, is perhaps simply an extreme example of the interest many Californians had in the political situation in China. This interest, perhaps greatest in the period 1898 through 1905, is attested to in part by the reaction of the non-Chinese community in San Francisco to the Pao-huang Hui there, and by the reaction of other Americans to San Francisco's Pao-huang Hui.[21]

When, in 1900, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's relative Liang Ch'i-t'ien entered the United States and went to California to help establish branches of the Pao-huang Hui there, Wu T'ing-fang asked that the Department of State see that Liang be expelled on the grounds of being an "agitator and insurgent," enemy of the Chinese government. The State Department thereupon asked the Secretary of the Treasury to launch an investigation, who referred the matter to the San Francisco Collector of Customs. This official refused to take any action against Liang Ch'i-t'ien, and went on to accuse Minister Wu of being an interested party whose allegataions should simply be ignored. In response, the investigation was dropped.[22]

Furthermore, in 1900, the United States Minister to Peking agreed to forward a telegram from the San Francisco branch of the Pao huang Hui to the Kuang-hsü Emperor on the occasion of the latter's birthday, in spite of the fact that the Pao-huang Hui was proscribed in China and the Emperor imprisoned in his palace. Various Americans (several local people and a Washington lawyer) also attended the Kuang-hsü Emperor's "birthday dinner" given by San Francisco's Pao-huang Hui in 1900, giving speeches in support of that organization, and the Emperor. That this interest on the part of Americans was not confined to the year 1900 or to San Francisco is demonstrated by the attendance of justices from the United States Supreme Court and lower courts as well as various Congressmen and others at a dinner given by the Pao-huang Hui in New York in 1903; once again, several of these Americans gave speeches in praise of the Pao-huang Hui and the Kuang-hsü Emperor. Finally, in March of 1904, when the wealthy businessman and manager of San Francisco's Pao-huang Hui, Ch'en Min-sheng went to Washington, D.C., he was granted an interview with President Theodore Roosevelt. At this interview, he mentioned the strength of the Pao-huang Hui (over 2,500,000 members) and its wealth, but rather than suggesting that the money might be used to field an army in China, he said it should be developed through investments in banking and streetcar lines.[23]

Members of the Pao-huang Hui were not the only Chinese to obtain the ear of Americans. The Rev. Wu P'an-chao, a Presbyterian minister and owner-operator-translator of San Francisco's *Chung Sai Yat Po* was frequently invited to speak before non-Chinese audiences, usually by church groups or societies interested in international affairs and the China trade. In addition, in 1901 and again in 1905, he undertook a national tour, as representative of San Francisco's Chinese Six Companies and other groups, which eventually led him to address the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., in an attempt to modify the Chinese Exclusion laws. In this attempt, he had only limited success, but may have done better than K'ang Yu-wei. In any case, he was not only asked to address Americans, but was feted and applauded by them and his American hosts even, on occasion, sent carriages to the train station to meet him if he were arriving from out of town.[24]

But what about Sun Yat-sen, who also made several tours of the United States between 1900 and 1911? Sun seems to have been generally ignored by the English language press with the exception of the enthusiastic coverage he received by the *San Francisco Examiner* in 1904. He did manage to win the loyalty of Homer Lea (and the Chinese cadets Lea was training) away from the Pao-huang Hui and K'ang Yu-wei; by the end of 1905, Lea was definitely disallusioned with K'ang and by 1908, he was actively soliciting money to finance Sun's revolutionary attempts. Finally, in 1906, Sun acquired the support of another American, Paul Myron Wellington Linebarger, who did important work in terms of fund-raising, organizing, and intelligence activities from then until Sun's death in 1925. But Sun was never granted an interview with President Theodore Roosevelt or any other American president, and he never addressed a session of Congress or a state legislature, he was not received by governors and mayors, and only rarely spoke before an American audience. This was undoubtedly partly deliberate: Sun Yat-sen was a professional revolutionary, and a secretive man. It may also have shown that American audiences were uninterested in a man who had such difficulty obtaining the support of the Chinese community.[25]

These, then, are the major instances of positive contact between Americans and Chinese in America, particularly in San Francisco. A few others of a miscellaneous type might be mentioned here, before going on to a negative contact between the two communities. In 1909, for the first time, an American president (Theodore Roosevelt) visited San Francisco's Chinatown, although he turned down all invitations by the major Chinese organizations there to meet with them. The San Francisco law firm of Stidger and Stidger (headed by Oliver P. Stidger) is said to have helped Sun Yat-set draft a national constitution for China. Various American companies were interested enough in their Chinese customers to advertise in the Chinese-language newspapers (for example, Wells Fargo Bank, Pacific Steamship Company, and Oriental and Occidental Steamship Company); some also had Chinese managers drawn from the local Chinese communities to handle the affairs of their fellow countrymen. Various American lawyers worked valiantly to protect the rights of Chinese and the Chinese communities. And, of course, it may be presumed that some of the contact between the Chinese consuls, the Chinese Minister to

Washington, and the American government was of a satisfactory and positive nature.[26]

The major and continuing area of negative contact between Americans and Chinese in the Americas concerned attempts to exclude Chinese from the Americas and to mistreat them once they were here. In the period 1895-1911, most notorious instances of this were the Chinese exclusion treaty and laws of the United States. These in turn led to the Chinese boycott of American goods, a movement that overseas Chinese in the Americas, and in particular, overseas Chinese in San Francisco were deeply involved in. For the purpose of this paper, a general account of the boycott and the role of San Francisco's Chinese community in it shall suffice.

The first stage in the movement culminated by the boycott of American goods began in 1900 and 1901, when the Chinese communities and Chinese officials in the United States first called on the Ch'ing court to let the immigration treaty with the United States lapse in 1904, and negotiate a more favorable one to replace it. In 1903, the Chinese government did indeed notify the United States that it wanted a new treaty. Then, in 1904, the treaty lapsed and while a new one was being negotiated, the United States Congress passed internal laws that, in effect, re-instituted all the features of the former treaty. In addition, China and the United States were not able to come to any agreement on a new treaty, primarily because the American government's determination to perpetuate Chinese exclusion was met by the Chinese government's demand that some relaxation in immigration restrictions be accorded. In 1905, negotiations were broken off completely, and various groups of Chinese merchants, students, and laborers in China as well as overseas Chinese in the Americas called for and instituted a boycott of American goods. At first, the Chinese government supported them, but after several weeks, this support stopped. Various circumstances caused the original boycott movement to become fragmented, and in fact, by 1906 it was evident that the movement had lost its impetus and failed in its aim to cause substantive change in the American attitude towards Chinese immigration and treatment of Chinese in the United States.[27]

One of the principal organs through which the opposition of the Chinese communities to Chinese exclusion was aroused and organized was the Chinese language newspaper, the *Chung Sai Yat Po*. This newspaper and its chief editor, the Presbyterian minister Wu P'an-chao were the same ones involved in the fight against San Francisco's Department of Public Health in 1900, discussed earlier. Until mid-1902, it was the only Chinese language newspaper published in the continental Americas which ventured beyond the realm of commercial news and advertising into politics and news reporting. Backed by the Chinese Christian community, on friendly terms with the Chi-kung t'ang (the Triad organization in the Americas), able to persuade large Chinese and American firms to purchase advertising space, the *Chung Sai Yat Po* had access to as well as influence in the Chinese Six Companies and even in 1905, when other Chinese language newspapers had been founded in the continental United States, it boasted the largest circulation of them all.[28]

In June of 1900, less than six months after its founding, the *Chung Sai Yat Po* proposed that China should refuse to discuss a new trade treaty with the

United States until that country had agreed to remove immigration restrictions on Chinese and accord Chinese in the United States better treatment. This suggestion, however, had no visible effect on the course of events. In 1901, when the California Assembly began discussing ways of making the entry of Chinese into that state more difficult, the newspaper expressed outrage. It also agreed to publicize the cause and progress of a society organized in the late summer of that year whose purpose was to agitate in favor of the United States permitting Chinese who had lived in the United States since their childhood to become naturalized American citizens. The founder of this society, the Hua-ch'i T'ang-hen Hui was a Mr. Li Ts'ai. Li noted that he did not want to overturn the exclusion laws, but only force the American government to in fact fulfill the articles of its immigration treaty with China. The *Chung Sai Yat Po* was also quick to point out that many businessmen in Sacramento did not favor the anti-Chinese attitude of the California Assembly, fearing that this would destroy their market in China. This possible link between American trade opportunities in China and a more liberal attitude towards Chinese immigration was noted on more than one occasion in the newspaper.[30]

On the more active side, the Chinese Christian community decided someone should be chosen to make a national tour to inform both Amercan and Chinese audiences of the need for change in the immigration restrictions, and the potential Chinese had for contributing to the American society and system of government. The man chosen to make the tour was Wu P'an-chao; since he was one of the founding editors, it may be presumed that the *Chung Sai Yat Po* gave him its full backing. The various regional associations (hui-kuan) members of San Francisco's Chinese Six Companies, gave their support and volunteered financial contributions for this project, but the bulk of the funds and all of Wu's traveling companions came from San Francisco's Presbyterian church, Presbyterian being the denomination in which Wu was a preacher. The heavy Christian influence is further shown by the functions and background of his traveling companions: two were to sing hymns and recite poems, whereas the third was the American teacher of English classes in the Presbyterian church located in San Francisco's Chinatown.[34]

While Wu was on his tour, the *Chung Sai Yat Po* undertook a long series of articles designed to answer all the arguments advanced in favor of Chinese exclusion. The newspaper continued its editorial attack against Chinese exclusion throughout the rest of 1901 and all of 1902 (and, indeed, beyond), by the summer of 1902 on occasion linking the United States' treatment of Chinese with the fact that Chinese (Han) were a subjugated race and calling for revolution to correct this. It also took it upon itself to translate and publish all laws relating to the immigration question, explaining all the difficult legal points involved in these laws. Finally, it gave good coverage to the objections of the Chinese Ministers to the United States (first Wu T'ing-fang, then Sir Liang Ch'eng) to the exclusion laws.[32]

By the middle of 1903, considerable opposition to the renewal of the immigration treaty and the principle of excluding Chinese had developed in the Chinese community. In October of that year, the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco formally decided to favor a termination of the immigration treaty in 1904, when the treaty was due to come up for review. Two days later, a meeting of San Francisco's Chinese Christian community was called. At this meeting, it was decided that the existing treaty would have to be modified so as to guarantee better treatment for Chinese in the United States, to permit Chinese missionaries (Christian and Buddhist) to come to the United States to proselytise, and finally, that the term "laborer" (kung I) used in the treaty must be redefined so as to enable more Chinese to enter the United States. One of the ministers, a delegate from Canaada, suggested that if the United States proved unwilling to so modify the treaty, all trade between China and the United States should be cut off; and in any case, the majority agreed that no treaty was better than the then-existing treaty. The delegate from Canada (Ch'en Yao-t'an) urged the San Francisco Christians to be most active in this cause: he noted that when Canada sought to impose a $500 head tax on all Chinese entering Canada, the Canadian branch of the Chinese Six Companies had not provided any but the weakest opposition, whereas the churches had been most vocal and united. Unfortunately, the opposition of the Canadian Christians had come too late to be of any use. The San Francisco Christians closed the meeting with the motion that Minister Liang Ch'eng be notified of their opposition, organization, and resolutions. Finally, in November, while Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was in San Francisco, the Chinese merchants in that city held a series of meetings that he attended in which they drew up petitions to the Ch'ing court, the governor-general of Liang Kwang, and other officials saying that exclusion should be ended, and that the restrictions against laborers were unfair. Both Liang and the editor of Hawaii's official Pao-huang Hui newspaper agreed with these propositions. The editor in Hawaii further wrote to the San Francisco merchants to suggest that a boycott of American goods be instituted to force the United States to change its policy.[33]

In spite of these protests, although the Chinese government did tell the United States it desired to negotiate a new treaty rather than continue the old one, on the American side little was done to modify the objectionable features of the treaty or the way in which it was enforced. In addition, in the spring of 1904, the *Chung Sai Yat Po* noted that in fact, Chinese merchants in San Francisco had no effective organization. The churches also seem to have let their anti-exclusion organization die from disuse. It was not until the old treaty had lapsed, the United States Congress enacted a set of internal exclusion laws, and negotiations for a new treaty had been broken off by the Chinese government that there was any further effective attempt on the part of San Francisco's Chinese community to influence the course of events.[34]

By this time, the idea of a boycott had been picked up in China but had died in San Francisco. In fact, the first reaction in San Francisco to the news that negotiations had been abandoned was a move on the part of the Chinese Six Companies and the acting consul in San Francisco to raise money for the legal defense of any Chinese arrested under the newly enacted internal Chinese exclusion laws. More significantly, the Chinese Six Companies requested that people deliberately violate these laws in order to enable the courts to rule on their constitutionality.[35]

On May 10, 1905 (a week after the Chinese Six Companies had suggested its form of civil disobedience), word reached the San Francisco community that merchants in Shanghai had declared a boycott of all United States goods to begin in June. Although the Chinese Six Companies responded by urging the Chinese government not to bow to American pressure and accept an objectionable treaty, it was not until early June that the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco officially announced that overseas Chinese in the United States would participate in the boycott movement. In the meantime, many organizations had urged that this move be taken, most prominent among which were the *Chung Sai Yat Po*, San Francisco's two other Chinese language newspapers, the Chih-kung t'ang, the Pao-huang Hui, a "group" of Chinese in Los Angeles and in other communities,[36] and various church leaders.[37]

After announcing the support of the Chinese communities for the boycott, the Chinese Six Companies proceeded to found a special organization to coordinate boycott activities. Called the Anti-Treaty Society (Chü-yüeh Tsung-chu), its original officers consisted of representatives from the various local business establishments. To these fourteen officials were soon added one representative each from the Pao-huang Hui, the Chih-kung t'ang, each newspaper (the *Chung Sai Yat Po*, the *Tai Tung Yat Po* or *Ta-t'ung Jih-pao*, and the *Mon Hing Po* or *Wen-hsing Pao*), and every church, for a total of twenty-three or twenty-four officers. Contributions were soon forthcoming, and society remained active for several months. The American government's continued unwillingness to relax the exclusion provisions and the weakening and division of the movement in China all helped to lessen the effectiveness of the San Francisco organization by the end of 1905. In addition, a fight developed between the *Chung Sai Yat Po* and Chih-kung t'ang (and its newspaper, the *Tai Tung Yat Po*) on the one hand, and the Po-huang Hui on the other, in which K'ang Yu-wei and the Pao-huang Hui were accused of compromising on the question of exclusion. Part of what was involved seems to have been the question of the ultimate aim of the movement. As in China, some people favored removing all immigration restrictions, whereas others agreed that laborers should be excluded but that the exclusion should apply only to laborers. K'ang and the Pao-huang Hui generally ascribed to this latter view, whereas the Chih-kung t'ang and the *Chung Sai Yat Po* presumably espoused the more radical, egalitarian view. In any case, by the spring of 1906, the boycott was a dead letter. A brief attempt in 1907, once again supported by the *Chung Sai Yat Po*, was made to reinstitute the boycott and revive the Anti-Treaty Society in San Francisco, but nothing came of it.[38]

Much can be learned from these incidents concerning the relationship between the overseas Chinese in the Americas and the American communities, and concerning the types of political action most likely to be favored by the Chinese community. For example, in 1900 it must have seemed as if the courts, the national government, and San Francisco's Christian (Chinese and non-Chinese) community would be the groups most likely to give overseas Chinese a sympathetic hearing. In 1900, the non-Chinese churches in San Francisco espoused their cause presumably purely out of an active interest in seeing justice prevail, an attitude all the more praiseworthy in contrast to the Boxer Rebellion in China.

In 1905, the attitude of the Christian churches and missionaries in the United States towards the question of treaty revision was more equivocable and lacked the unanimity and good will of 1900. That group of Americans most favorably disposed towards relaxed immigration restrictions were American businessmen, especially those involved in the China trade. Their sympathy was a result of self-interest because of which, even though they could and did put some meaningful pressure on the federal government, their support tended to be capricious—or, to be more accurate, as their long-range goals differed significantly from those of the Chinese community, they could not be counted on as reliable allies. Furthermore, as the China trade was such a small percentage of America's international trade, the effect of the boycott and the issue of a boycott was never overwhelming. The overseas Chinese communities were aware of at least some of these problems, particularly of the fact that American businessmen wanted to preserve the China market. In fact, influenced by the over-blown rhetoric of the day concerning the potential of the China trade, the Chinese communities seem to have over-estimated the effect a boycott would have on the United States.

Finally, in 1911, those involved in fighting the proposed state voting bill do not seem to have attracted, or solicited, support from any group or groups in the American community. Relying on their knowledge of and the California Assemblymen's respect for constitutional law, and the sympathy of a few individual legislators, they managed to defeat the proposition. It can be said, then, concerning these three major incidents that the initial indication that a real bond of friendship or community of interests between the Chinese community and elements in the American community might develop had, by 1911, proved abortive. However, the United States system of government seems to have remained responsive, although in 1905, from the point of view of the Chinese communities, it was not nearly responsive enough. In this regard, legal appeals seem to have been more effective than the attempt to apply economic and political pressure.

As for what these incidents reveal concerning the possible types of political activity liable to appeal to the Chinese communities, it is interesting that in all three cases, when action was deemed necessary, the idea of solving the problem through the American judicial system seems to have held tremendous appeal. Lawyers were hired, legal (and constitutional) precedent pointed to, and diplomatic channels employed. The attempt was to show that the action desired by the protagonists (the Chinese community as a whole or portions of it) was to uphold the law, which law had been violated by elements outside of the Chinese community. In retrospect, then, it can be said that the initial reaction appears conservative (that is to say, it remained within the confines of the existing social and institutional structure) but also that it showed great optimism concerning the ultimate justice inherent in the American system of government. This second point is worth remembering because after all, the American system of justice in some respects was fundamentally different from the Chinese.

The preceding instances have also revealed that the initial reaction of the over-all Chinese community (or those actively interested in the prevailing conflict) could be modified by less conservative forces, for example, the Chinese Christians. Even these more "radical" elements, however, wanted to remain within the confines of the American system—they sought more to change the law (or its execution) than subvert it. The Christians perhaps felt that their adoption of a more Western set of values, as represented by their religion, peculiarly qualified them to deal in the Western environment. In any event, they and the Chinese-Americans (that is to say, native-born Americans of the Chinese race) appear to have been among the most active and perhaps least conservative members of the "Chinese" community.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Some of the published works dealing with the American reception of Chinese, and conditions in the communities of the overseas Chinese in the Americas include Kwang-ching Liu, *Americans and Chinese: a Historical Essay and a Bibliography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 22-40; T. W. Chinn, H. Mark Lai, and Philip Choy, (eds.), *A History of the Chinese in California, a Syllabus* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969); Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Hongkong: Hongkong University Press, 1960); Robert McClellan, *The Heathen Chinee* (Cleveland: Ohio State University Press, 1971); Victor G. and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ* (Pantheon Books, 1973); Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Ch'en K'uang-min; *Mei-chou Hua-ch'ao T'ung-chien (History of the Overseas Chinese in the Americas)* (New York: Overseas Chinese Culture Publishing Co., 1950) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Hsin-ta-lu Yu-chi (Record of a Trip to the New World)* in Shen Yun-lung (ed.), *Chin-tai Chung-kuo shih-liao tsung-k'an (Periodical of Documents on Recent Chinese History)*, v. 96-97 (No. 10).

[2] Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Hsin-ta-lu*, p. 287 and pp. 377-380, and *Chung Sai Yat Po (Chung-hsi Jih-pao)*, July 24, 1901, p. 2 and November 19, 1901, p. 2.

[3] Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Hsia-wei-i Yu-chi (Record of a Trip to Hawaii)" in *Yin-ping-shih Wen-chi (Collected Writings from an Icedrinker's Studio)*, Chüan 37, pp. 185-196; Loretta O. Q. Pang, "The Chinese Revolution: Its Activities and Meaning in Hawaii" (unpublished honors B.S. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1963), p 33 and ff. 56 (p. 33); and Chung Kun Ai, *My Seventy-nine Years in Hawaii* (Hongkong: Cosmorama Pictorial Publishers, 1960), pp. 195-196.

[4] *San Francisco Examiner*, May 29, 1900, p. 12.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Some of the businessmen included William Sproule, John F. Merrill, and Lt. Wilson (United States Army). See *Examiner*, May 29, 1900, p. 12. At one time, the pro-quarantine forces even had an adviser from the Honolulu Board of Public Health who had been active in Honolulu's anti-plague campaign. See *Examiner*, June 1, 1900, p. 5.

[7] *Examiner*, May 29, 1900, p. 12; May 30, 1900, p. 2; May 31, 1900, p. 3; June 1, 1900, p. 3 and p. 5; *San Francisco Morning Call*, June 6, 1900, p. 3; and *Chung Sai Yat Po*, June 28, 1900, p. 2.

[8] *Examiner*, Editorial, June 3, 1900, p. 14.

[9] *Ibid.* and June 2, 1900, p. 14.

[10] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, June 1,1900, p. 2 and June 2, 1900, p. 2.

[11] *Morning Call*, June 6, 1900, p. 3, and *Examiner*, June 7, 1900, p. 12.

[12] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, June 1, 1900, p. 2; June 2, 1900, p. 2; June 6, 1900, pp. 1-2; and *Morning Call*, June 6, 1900, p. 3.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Chung Sci Yat Po*, June 14, 1900, p. 1; June 19, 1900, p. 2; and June 22, 1900, p. 1; and *Examiner*, May 30, 1900, p. 2.

[15] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, March 29, 1901, p. 2 and March 18, 1903, p. 2.

[16] *Shao-nien Chung-Kuo ch'en-pao*, February 21, 1911, p. 2 and February 24, 1911, p. 2.

[17] Jung-pang Lo, *K'ang Yu-wei, a Biography and a Symposium* (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1967), p. 179; letter from Joseph H. Herod, United States Legation, Tokyo to John Hay, Secretary of State, March 31, 1899 and letter with enclosure from Abraham E. Smith, United States Consul, Victoria to Hon. Thomas W. Cridler, Assistant Secretary of State, April 14, 1899, both of the above enclosures in letter to the author from Legislative, Judicial and Diplomatic Records Division, National Archives and Records Service, received June 25, 1971.

[18] *Ibid.*; telegram from Wilson R. Gay to Secretary of the Treasury, July 31, 1899 and telegram from Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to Wilson R. Gay, August 1, 1899, both of the above, enclosures in letter to the author from National Archives, June 25, 1971 and Robert Worden, "A Chinese Reformer in Exile: the North American Phase of the Travels of K'ang Yu-wei, 1899-1909," rough draft (unpublished PhD thesis, Georgetown University, 1971), chapter 2, pp. 5-6.

[19] L. Eve Armentrout, "American Involvement in Chinese Revolutionary Activities, 1898-1913" (Unpublished MA thesis, California State University, Hayward, 1972), chapter 2, pp. 42-66 and chapter 3, pp. 67-103.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.* For more on Homer Lea, see Carl Glick, *Double Ten: Captain O'Banion's Story of the Chinese Revolution* (London and New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945) and Frederick Chapin, "Homer Lea" (unpublished manuscript in Joshua B. Powers collection, Hoover Institution for War, Revolution, and Peace; Archives, Stanford University).

[22] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chinese E Files (14487, 14212-3-C, 1891-C, 1991-C, 12748-C) from the National Archives.

[23] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, August 10, 1901, p. 1; August 12, 1901, p. 2 and p. 7; and March 17, 1904, p. 2; and Armentrout, "American Involvement in," chapter 2, pp. 42-43.

[24] Armentrout, "American Involvement in," chapter 2, pp. 42-66, chapter 3, pp. 67-103 and chapter 4, pp. 104-137. In his 1905 interview with Roosevelt, Wu tried particularly hard to convince the President that Chinese newspaper editors, manager, and reporters, and religious missionaries should have their status changed from the excluded "laborer" (kung) category to "educator" (chiao), a category of persons permitted to come to the United States under the exclusion laws. Not long after his return to San Francisco, this change was made, and Wu and the staff of the *Chung Sai Yat Po* were sent the forms necessary for them to present to American officials on re-entry to this country, so that they might thus visit their native land without fear of being barred from re-entry on their return. See "Special Magazine/Book to Commemorate the Fortieth Anniversary of Chung Sai Yat Po" (Chinese Historical Society of America, Archives). *Chung Sai Yat Po*, May 4, 1903, pp. 1-2 and February 12, 1909, p. 2 provide only two illustrations of Wu's speaking career, which is chronicled in the *Chung Sai Yat Po*.

[25] Armentrout, "American Involvement in," chapter 2, pp. 42-66, chapter 3, pp. 67-103 and chapter 4, pp. 104-137.

[26] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, September 1, 1909, p. 2; September 8, 1909, pp. 2-3; September 21, 1909, p. 3; telephone interview between the author and Jack M. Rittigstein, April 11, 1972; *Shao-nien Chung-kuo*, February 7, 1911, pp. 1-8; and *Chung Sai Yat Po*, February 25, 1901, pp. 1-16. Some of the Chinese Ministers to Washington for the period 1895-1911 are as follows: Wu T'ing-fang (1898-1902 and 1908), Sir Liang Ch'eng (1903-1908), and Chang Yin-t'ang (1909-1911). Some of the principal consuls to the various American ports included Ho Yung-shao and Liang Kuo-ying in Honolulu, and Ho Yu-ch'in and Tsung Pao-hsi in San Francisco. Three of the American lawyers who defended Chinese interests included the afore-mentioned Mai-kai-ya, a man called Pin-ni, and Samuel M. Shortridge.

[27] For a very valuable account of the entire movement, see Chang Ts'un-wu, *Chung-mei Kung-yüeh Feng-ch'ao (History of the Chinese-American Labor Immigration Treaties)* (Taipei: Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yuan Chiu-tai-shih Yen-chiu-swo, 1966). In general, these individuals or groups most in favor of negotiating a modified, less restrictive immigration treaty with China were the Ch'ing court and the Chinese ministers to the United States, K'ang Yu-wei (head of the Pao-huang Hui) Wu P'an-tsae (head of the largest Chinese language newspaper published in the United States), Huang San-teh (head of the Triad organization in the United States and its official, Chinese language newspaper), the overseas Chinese communities generally, and many Chinese businessmen, students, and laborers

in China. Americans who favored modification included Secretary of War Taft, Secretary of State John Hay, some other cabinet members, many United States' businessmen (particularly those who wanted to use Chinese laborers, or those in the textile business), Hawaii's Acting Governor Henry Ernest Cooper, and the Southern States. Those most opposed to any relaxation of Chinese immigration restrictions were the Secretary of the Treasury Metcalf (who was charged with carrying out the exclusion provisions), labor unions, and the Western states (California in particular).

[28] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, February 25, 1901, pp. 1-16; June 10, 1904, p. 1; July 14, 1904, p. 1; July 18, 1904, pp. 1-2; and July 20, 1904, p. 1.

[29] The English name of this society was the American Chinese Association; main offices were in Philadelphia.

[30] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, June 12, 1900, p. 2; June 26, 1900; p. 1; March 4, 1901, pp. 1-2; August 16, 1901, pp. 1-2; August 19, 1901, p. 2; September 2, 1901, p. 1 and p. 3; September 17, 1901, p. 3; and November 8, 1901, p. 2.

[31] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, November 26, 1901, p. 2.

[32] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, December 25, 1901, p. 2; January 14, 1902, p. 2; March 7, 1902, p. 2; April 23, 1902, pp. 1-2; May 1, 1902, p. 2; August 14, 1902, p. 1; and March 28, 1903, p. 2.

[33] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, October 30, 1903, p. 2 and November 2, 1903, pp. 1-2; Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, *Hsin-ta-lu*, pp. 469-471, p. 478, and p. 488; and Chang Ts'un-wu, *Chung-mei Kung-Yueh*, pp. 25-33.

[34] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, March 26, 1904, p. 2; April 4, 1904, p. 1; April 27, 1905, p. 2; and May 1, 1905, p. 1.

[35] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, May 3, 1905, p. 2.

[36] Two of these communities were Mao-shih-ti in Montana, and Pa-su. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, June 5 and 6, 1905, p. 2.

[37] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, May 11, 1905, p. 2; May 12, 1905, p. 2; and June 7, 1905, pp. 1-2. Wu made his second national tour at this time to help present the Chinese view to the American public. During the course of this tour, he was granted an interview by President Theodore Roosevelt; Wu felt that it was because of this interview that Chinese newspaper editors and religious ministers were shortly afterwards re-classified as "educators" (rather than "laborers"), which therefore qualified them for entry into the United States. See "Special Magazine/Book to Commemorate the Fortieth Anniversary of the *Chung Sai Yat Po*" (unpublished manuscript, 1940). Other leaders who made tours during 1905, tours part or all of whose purpose was to modify the restrictions and implimentation of the Chinese exclusion laws, include K'ang Yu-wei and Huang San-teh, head of the Chih-kung t'ang. It might also be noted that overseas Chinese in both Hawaii and Canada participated in the boycott movement, once the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco had announced its support of the movement. See *Chung Sai Yat Po*, June 30, 1905, p. 2 and Chang Ts'un-wu, *Chung-kuo Kung-yüeh*, pp. 134-138 and pp. 140-141.

[38] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, June 7, 1905, p. 1; June 9, 1905, p. 2; June 15, 1905, p. 2; June 20, 1905, p. 2; September 7, 1907, p. 3; and September 23, 1907, p. 3; *Tai Tung Yat Po*, July 1, 1905, pp. 1-4; *Shao-nien Chung-kuo*, March 11, 1911, p. 1; and Chang Ts'un-wu, *Chung-mei Kung-Yüeh*, pp. 57-61; pp. 134-141; and pp. 218-220. The split between the Pao-huang Hui and other pro-boycott organizations was also related to a quarrel between the reformers and revolutionaries in Canton. See Chang Ts'un-wu, *Chung-mei Kung-yüeh*, pp. 218-220.

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#4 – QUANTIFICATION AND CHINESE-AMERICAN HISTORY

Chairman: Yuan-li Wu, *University of San Francisco*

A QUANTITATIVE HISTORY OF CHINATOWN, SAN FRANCISCO, 1870 AND 1880

By

JOHN W. STEPHENS

INTRODUCTION

As San Francisco grew in the nineteenth century from a small Mexican village to a departure and supply point for the forty-niners; and finally to a mature, manufacturing-based, metropolitan city, so its Chinese sector, Chinatown, correspondingly changed. Beginning around 1848 in San Francisco's then-central district on Sacramento Street, Chinatown grew with San Francisco, until by 1880, it encompassed the twelve blocks that form the core of Chinatown today. To the north and south it was bordered by Broadway and California Street; to the east and west Kearny and Stockton; and running up the middle, forming the main artery of Chinatown life, was Dupont Street, now Grant Avenue.

Studies of nineteenth-century Chinatown have all encountered the same problem: a scarcity of reliable sources. The majority of the materials written in the nineteenth century about the Chinese and Chinatown was written by whites who wanted to end Chinese immigration. For this reason, these sources concentrate on what the authors believed was the degraded state of the Chinese people and the squalid conditions of the Chinese quarter of San Francisco. The Protestant missionaries, who also wrote about the Chinese, were generally far more sympathetic, but the condescending attitude, with which they looked at the Chinese, shows through their writings, at times making it hard to separate them from anti-Chinese writers.

It is for these reasons that the manuscript U.S. Census is such a valuable source for studying Chinatown. The information taken in the census, such as name, age, sex, occupation, and birthplace, did not lend itself to distortion in the same way that subjective observations did in the anti-Chinese writings of this period. There are undoubtedly some inaccuracies in the census in terms of information that was not recorded or was recorded incorrectly. But these inaccuracies are reduced by the use of a large sample and by interpreting the data not as hard facts, but as more general indicators of life in Chinatown in the census years, 1870 and 1880.

The period between 1870 and 1880 was a particularly important time for San Francisco. During this period the Gold Rush, which had such an important influence upon the development of San Francisco, came to a close leaving a vacuum readily filled by the newly finished transcontinental railroad. With the final demise of the gold mines, San Francisco ceased to play the role of a frontier city and began to move toward a more modern industrial city. It was an important time for the Chinese. It was a period in which the Chinese left the mines and the Central Pacific Railroad for the cities and agricultural areas. It was also a time of growth for the anti-Chinese movement; a movement that culminated in the boycott of Chinese-made goods and the ending of immigration of Chinese laborers in 1882.

1. THE CENSUS

There are significant differences between the information in the 1870 Census and the 1880 Census. The information in the 1870 Census, relevant to this study, includes the dwelling house number in order of visitation; the number of the family, also in order of visitation; the name of all individuals and their age, sex, place of birth, and the value of their real and personal estate. The 1880 Census dropped the value of real and personal estate but added three other important pieces of information: the address, marital status, and the relationship to the head of the household of each respondent.

The relationship of each person to the head of household in the 1880 Census can be used for determining the nature of the few Chinese families in San Francisco. This determination is more difficult with the 1870 Census since it lacks any explicit information stating wife, son, or daughter. It was possible, however, to use the occupations and make educated guesses, in that housewives were generally listed as "Keeping House" and children as "At Home."

The final difference between the 1870 and 1880 censuses is due, not to the set-up of the census, but rather to the census taker in 1870. The instructions given to the census takers in 1870 request that they be as specific as possible when writing down the birthplace of each resident, but the census taker for Chinatown wrote down only "China" for everyone. This is in contrast to the 1880 Census where listed birthplaces range from individual villages to "China," depending on how specific the census taker for each block chose to be.

Though the 1870 Census is markedly deficient in comparison to the 1880 Census, it still contains the most important information, namely occupation and age. It is through a comparison of these factors between 1870 and 1880 that we can detect the change in shape and character of Chinatown in the nineteenth century.

2. THE SAMPLE

Out of Chinatown's population of 8,128 in 1870 and 14,688 in 1880,[1] a sample of about one-third of each census was taken or about 2,700 from the 1870 Census and 4,900 from the 1880 Census.

The sample was selected from random clusters of 40 people in the 1870 Census and 50 people in the 1880 Census. The advantage of this sampling technique was that it would give a picture of the general demography of Chinatown and at the same time preserve the familial and occupational relationships between individuals.

The data for each individual were then coded and key-punched onto an

IBM data card. The cards were run through a computer and measurements of association were made between the variables, such as birthplace and occupation.

The compilation of these data produced meaningful results that explain much about life in Chinatown and how it changed between 1870 and 1880.

3. CHINATOWN IN 1870

In 1870, Chinatown was far from a city unto itself. It was a society in which men outnumbered women 3 to 1. It was a community with little basis for self-support that looked to the outside for numbers to maintain its population as well as provide financial support.

Of the 2,830 people in the 1870 sample, only 627, or 22%, were women. Of that number, 67 were listed as children, 13 as young servants, 54 as keeping house, and 483 as prostitutes and madames.

The 54 women listed in the sample as "keeping house" are the group in which the wives were included. Out of the 54 women, only 25 can definitely be considered to have been wives. The rest appear to have been older relatives of the head of the household, or they were women who lived alone or with other women, who had "keeping house" listed as their occupation by the census taker.

The wives tended to be much younger than their husbands, with a mean age difference of 8.8 years. This is in contrast to the age difference of 4.8 years found by Wolfram Eberhard in his study of the Jung Clan in Kwantung in 1870-1889.[2] There are two possible reasons for the large age difference between husband and wife in the United States. It could be that the poverty the immigrants experienced in China and the United States required them to work for many years and save money before taking a wife. This was often the pattern followed by men from poor families.[3] The other explanation is that many of the wives were concubines or second wives. Ta Chen in his study of the emigrant communities in South China found that men had often established a family in China prior to emigration and then established another one in Southeast Asia after emigration, though usually with a non-Chinese wife.[4] It is impossible to determine which of the above was most common in Chinatown. Any chance for Chinatown to maintain itself without immigration rested with these families. If a large number of the wives were second wives, they could not be expected to contribute to a stable Chinese community.

The families, themselves, tended to be quite small. Of the twenty-five women who could definitely be considered wives, sixteen had children, the average number being 1.8 per family. It should be noted that there were many more children who were living with prostitutes or in two groups of nineteen children that were not included in this discussion of families.

The small number of families and the small size of those families show clearly that Chinatown was completely dependent on immigration from the eastern counties of northern California and China. Had the Chinese who returned to China not been replaced by new immigrants, Chinatown, with a limited capability of populating itself, would have been so diminished in size, that it quite possibly, could not have survived as a separate area of San Francisco.

4. OCCUPATIONS IN 1870

The major occupations in Table I show that Chinatown had a largely pre-manufacturing and service-oriented economy.

TABLE I

Major Occupations, 1870

		N=2,633
Occupation	*Number*	*Percent of Total*
Laborer	629	23.9
Prostitute	470	17.9
Cigar Maker	264	10.0
Miner	160	6.8
Gambler	102	3.9
Cook	55	2.1
Fish Peddler	53	2.0
Servant	52	2.0
Barber	50	1.9
Tailor	48	1.8
Vegetable Dealer	43	1.6
Fisherman	37	1.4
Shoemaker	32	1.2
Porter	27	1.0
Other	611	22.5

With the exception of the cigar industry and the fledgling shoe industry, the newly formed San Francisco manufacturing firms were not yet employing Chinese labor.

The largest occupation group is formed by the laborers. The 1870 Census does not elaborate on the type of work in which the laborers were engaged. The census does list people as labor contractors and intelligence office workers. It is likely that these contractors found jobs for many of the laborers. It was not uncommon for a San Franciscan in need of inexpensive labor to inquire at these offices. Many farmers found the Chinese laborers indispensible for reaping and shocking wheat.[5]

The major portion of the money from San Francisco's whites that flowed to the Chinese, passed through these laborers and cigar makers. It was these occupations, along with prostitution, that formed the area of intersection between the white and Chinese economies in 1870. They provided labor for the white community and produced goods for consumption by the white community. The rest of the Chinese economy was oriented toward serving San Francisco and the Chinese in the counties east of San Francisco.

The most noticeable of these professions is, of course, prostitution. Given the lopsided sex-ratio that existed in Chinatown in 1870, it is hardly surprising that prostitution was common. It does seem remarkable, however, that there were so many prostitutes. Subtracting the children and wives from the sample, 19.2% of the people are prostitutes, or one prostitute for every 4.7 adult males. It would seem that the prostitutes were serving a larger community than Chinatown alone. Undoubtedly, part of this outside community was the white community. In 1876, James B. Rogers, a special police officer for Chinatown, testified before the California Senate that, "most of the Chinese houses of prostitution are patronized by Whites—by young men and old ones."[6] When we consider that the imbalance of the sex-ratio of the Chinese was probably greater outside of Chinatown, it is likely that the prostitutes also served the outside Chinese community in addition to the white community. The outside Chinese community also contributed to an active gambling industry that is shown by the large number of people, 3.9% of the sample, involved in gambling.

This "outside community" was probably the Chinese in San Francisco not living in Chinatown, and the Chinese living east of San Francisco. In 1870, less than 25% of the Chinese in California lived in San Francisco. The other 75% were spread over California, but principally in the Central Valley around Sacramento and farther east in the gold country in Nevada, Placer, and Butte Counties.[7] It is hard to say, given the low incomes of the Chinese, that they would be in a position to take trips to San Francisco, but when we consider that 160, or 6.8% of the sample were miners, it is apparent that a considerable number did. It is probable, noting the large number of miners, that there were agricultural laborers that had come into San Francisco but were listed in the census simply as "laborers."

Chinatown in 1870 was a separate community apart from San Francisco. Its contacts with the white population were limited to those established by the cigar makers, shoemakers, and prostitutes. And though Chinatown must have received a large part of its income through these limited contacts, it depended upon the Chinese population of northern California for its economic welfare—just as San Francisco's welfare in large part depended upon the entire population of northern California.

5. SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN 1870

It is clear from the organization of the Six Companies that merchants are on top of any social structure that might be drawn for Chinatown. Following the merchants, it is difficult to establish any order by occupations without further analysis. The census provides no sure method of making any determinations for the entire population. The 1870 Census provides columns for the real and personal estates of respondents, but for most of the people in Chinatown these columns were left blank, which makes these data an unreliable indicator for all Chinatown. An alternate method might be to use the wage levels given in the Compendium of the Manufacturer's Census, but no distinction is made between white and Chinese wage-laborers, and in addition, as we have already seen, a large segment of the Chinese in Chinatown were self-employed or in the service sector of the economy. Faced with this problem, an index of wealth based on the number of people per household, NPH, was established.[8] NPH can be a very valuable indicator when used in a very general way. With this restriction in mind, a social structure for Chinatown is shown in Table II.

TABLE II

Social Structure of Principal Occupations in 1870

Occupation	*Mean NPH*	*Mean Age*	*No. in List*	*%*
Merchant	4.73	32.24	22	0.8
Fisherman	5.62	31.38	37	1.4
Barber	5.76	30.58	50	1.9
Tailor	5.79	29.36	48	1.8
Porter	6.00	30.96	27	1.0
Servant	8.02	16.13	53	2.0
Cook	8.44	22.89	55	2.1
Fish Peddler	8.62	37.67	53	2.0
Laborer	8.78	32.16	404	23.9
Mean NPH for Chinatown	8.94			
Vegetable Dealer	9.33	34.05	43	1.6
Miner	9.59	32.46	22	6.8
Prostitute	11.13	23.36	470	17.9
Gambler	12.88	35.29	102	3.9
Shoemaker	20.41	22.38	32	1.2
Cigar Maker	21.88	22.41	264	10.0

The list seems to show five general categories: merchants, service occupations, peddlers, illicit occupations, and factory workers. Considering the control of Chinatown the merchants exerted through the Six Companies, it is not surprising to find them heading the list. Following the merchants are the fishermen and the service sector, which includes barbers, tailors, porters, servants, and cooks. The third category, made up of peddlers and independent laborers, includes the fish peddlers, vegetable dealers, laborers, and miners. Following that comes those occupations that are illegal today and were considered undesirable in 1870; prostitution and gambling. And finally, in the category made up of factory workers are the shoemakers and cigar makers.

The social structure also shows that, in a general sense, those in the higher occupations were older than those in the lower occupations. There are two possible explanations for this: one, older people came to this country with more capital and, hence, were able to get a better start; or two, there was social mobility in Chinatown that, to a certain degree, was determined by time. It is difficult to say which of these hypotheses is correct, but based on studies of the Chinese in Southeast Asia where social mobility did occur, it would be reasonable to assume that social mobility also occurred in the Chinese community in the United States at this time.[9]

The social structure of Chinatown in 1870 conforms very closely to what might be expected for a white community in 1870. Though the people of Chinatown were of a different race and culture, the values and desires of these people, whether inherent in their culture or gained through contacts with the white society, created a social structure, not unlike any that might be found elsewhere in the United States. Age differences between those holding occupations of higher status and those holding occupations of lower status would seem to indicate that social mobility was occurring within the Chinese community; though these data do not indicate whether there was upward mobility of the Chinese population relative to the white population beyond a few wealthy individuals.

6. Chinatown in 1880

Between 1870 and 1880, Chinatown underwent a fundamental transformation that changed the base of its existence. The use of Chinese labor in manufacturing, which was limited in 1870, was more extensive in 1880. The demand of San Franciscans for inexpensive cigars, shoes, and ready-made clothing created a demand for inexpensive labor, which the Chinese were prepared to fill. The result was that Chinatown no longer depended upon the surrounding Chinese community. It had developed an internal source of income based on production of cigars, shoes, and clothing. Still, Chinatown had not undergone the most important change that would have given it stability as a community: the ability to maintain its population without new immigration. This, in fact, was the problem of the entire Chinese population of the United States.

The reason for this was, of course, the same as it had been in 1870 and before: a gross imbalance in the sex-ratio. In 1880, as a result of increased immigration of men, this imbalance had grown. Only 13.6% of the 1880 sample were women, compared with 22% in 1870. Despite the decrease of the percentage of women, the percentage who were wives increased from 2.0% in 1870 to 6.7% in 1880. At least some of the increase was probably due to women deserting the ranks of prostitution for matrimony, as demonstrated by a sharp drop in the percentage of prostitutes from 17.9% in 1870 to 3.6% in 1880. Chinatown's history is replete with stories of missionaries saving prostitutes who were then married to Chinese Christians.[10] In other cases, prostitutes could have been sold to men for wives. And then, it may be that there was simply an increase in the immigration of wives to the United States and an increase in the emigration of prostitutes from out of the United States.

The percentage of children in the sample also diminished between 1870 and 1880, from 6.5% to 4.8%. This difference could be due to sampling error or to the decline in prostitution. The average number of children per husband

and wife was only 0.75 children and for those who had at least one child, it was 1.5 children. This figure is almost the same as the 1.8 children in 1870, but both are smaller than the average in China, where the typical family had three to four children.[11] This could be the result of a desire for fewer children in families who intended to return to China and had transportation costs in mind.

Though Chinatown's population grew in terms of absolute numbers between 1870 and 1880, it made little movement toward long term stability. Immigration of men continued to be large and immigration of women continued to be small. And so the increase was only illusory, in that it meant the Chinese population could only diminish after 1882.

7. Occupations in 1880

The major occupations in 1870 and 1880 shown in Table III demonstrate that by 1880 the rise of Chinese labor in organized production was reflected in the displacement of service industries by burgeoning manufacturing firms.

TABLE III

1870 N=2,633			1880 N=3,685		
Occupation	*No.*	*%*	*Occupation*	*No.*	*%*
Laborer	629	23.9	Cigar Maker	659	17.8
Prostitute	470	17.9	Laborer	542	14.6
Cigar Maker	264	10.0	Shoemaker	288	7.8
Miner	160	6.8	Servant	269	7.2
Gambler	102	3.9	Tailor	188	5.1
Cook	55	2.1	Cook	153	4.1
Fish Peddler	53	2.0	Prostitute	133	3.6
Servant	52	2.0	Merchant	[illegible]7	3.4
Barber	50	1.9	Barber	87	2.3
Tailor	48	1.8	Actor	76	2.0
Vegetable Dealer	43	1.6	Clerk	74	2.0
Fisherman	37	1.4	Peddler	69	1.9
Shoemaker	32	1.2	Laundryman	64	1.7
Porter	27	1.0	Carpenter	51	1.4
Others	611	22.5	Shirtmaker	47	1.3
			Sewing Machine Operator	46	1.2
			Porter	45	1.2
			Sailor	40	1.1
			Grocer	39	1.1
			Gambler	13	0.4
			Others	699	18.8

The most important of these were the cigar, shoe, and clothing industries. The cigar manufacturing firms, which had already made extensive use of

Chinese labor in 1870, had increased their employment of Chinese in 1880 to the point where more Chinese were involved in the cigar industry than any other occupation.

The most dramatic increase was in shoemaking, which employed 1.2% of the Chinese in 1870 and 7.8% in 1880. Chinese labor, first used during a strike in 1869, was used increasingly through the 1870's.[12] Much of this increase was due to the establishment of Chinese-owned firms, whose owners had learned the trade in white-owned factories and then established their own shoe factories which undersold the white labor firms. The Chinese factories not only offered employment for the Chinese but they also united the opposition of white management and white labor in the shoe industry.[13]

The clothing industry was another area in which the Chinese established their own firms. Chinese labor in clothing factories had been almost nonexistent in 1870. It peaked in 1876 with over 3,000 Chinese employees and it was still very substantial in 1880. When all of the different occupations within the clothing industry are added together, they amount to 3.4% of the 1880 sample, not including tailors. The major portion of these people were shirtmakers, 2.3%, and sewing machine operators, 1.2%. It is interesting to note that this is the only industry where Chinese women were employed. Of the 420 adult women in the sample, seven, or 1.7%, were seamstresses, shirtmakers, or sewing machine operators. They were generally older women with a mean age of 37.9. Of the seven seamstresses, four were widows, two were married, and one was single. As in the shoe industry, the Chinese learned to manufacture clothing in white firms and then left to start their own. The resulting competition created anti-Chinese feelings among white clothing manufacturers and workers.[14]

The cigar, shoe, and clothing industries effectively increased the area of intersection between the Chinese and white communities, which had been small in 1870. Twenty-nine percent of the 1880 sample were employed in these manufacturing firms, up from 11.2% in 1870. An even more dramatic change was the emergence of Chinese-owned firms that produced goods for the white population. This was important for Chinatown, because it markedly reduced Chinatown's dependence upon the surrounding Chinese community. The firms provided Chinatown with its own internal source of income. At the same time, however, the Chinese-owned firms had the negative effect of fanning the flames of anti-Chinese sentiment which were so powerful in this period.

Chinatown's economy was further strengthened in 1880 by increased mercantile activity. In relation to other occupations, the number of merchants increased almost five times from 0.7% of the 1870 sample to 3.4% in 1880. The census does not elaborate on the businesses in which the merchants were engaged. A comparison of some of the merchant's home addresses in the census with the business addresses given in 1880 San Francisco Directory suggests that most of these merchants resided at their place of business.[15]

The census also lists interpreters at many of these business establishments indicating that a substantial portion of their business was with the white community. Twenty-four of the Chinese merchants were members of the San Francisco Merchants' Guild.[16] The directory lists ten of them as tea merchants, five simply as merchants, three as grocers, one as an insurance agent, one as a fancy goods merchant, and for four of them there is no listing. The 1880 Census manuscript shows the Chinese members of the Merchants Guild on the average had five employees who lived with them. The five generally included an interpreter, clerk, porter, bookkeeper, and cook. The employment of a bookkeeper, in addition to the other four employees, demonstrates that the volume of trade was large.

The merchants, cigar, shoe, and clothing makers were important because they freed Chinatown of the surrounding Chinese community. This was especially important because as mining declined, the Chinese began migrating to southern California and other parts of the United States and, hence, could not be depended upon to support San Francisco's Chinatown.

The rising importance of the manufacturing industries effected a concomitant decline of one sector of the service industry: prostitution and gambling. Between 1870 and 1880, prostitution fell from 17.9% (470) of the sample to 3.6% (133) and gambling dropped from 3.9% (102) to 0.4% (14). As Chinatown moved toward self-sufficiency and a stable economy, the important position of prostitution and gambling gave way to the new industries. Though the importance of prostitution and gambling declined, the importance of other sectors of the service industries did not. The percentages of cooks, servants, barbers, and tailors all increased. At the same time the laundry emerged as a significant part of the Chinatown economy. The increases in these sectors of the service industry are not surprising in light of the other changes taking place in Chinatown. We would expect that as Chinatown's economy moved toward stability that these occupations would continue to play an important role.

With the rise of the manufacturing firms, Chinatown moved toward self-sufficiency. Like San Francisco, Chinatown came out of the gold rush and the frontier and proceeded to a more modern industrial-based society. Successful integration of the Chinese into San Francisco's economy, however, contributed to the failure of the whites to accept them as full partners in the San Francisco community, and led to anti-Chinese violence and ultimately to the restriction of Chinese immigration in 1882.[17]

8. SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN 1880

Table IV reveals that the occupational social structure for 1880 cannot be neatly categorized, as it was for 1870.

Merchants still dominated and, in a very general way, factory occupations such as cigar making and shoemaking were still near the bottom, though relative to the mean NPH for Chinatown, cigar makers were quite typical.

The NPH for cigar makers had improved but at the same time the average NPH for Chinatown had fallen due to an increased population for a static number of households. With the increased population and increased number of factories, the status of cigar makers was no longer the exception, but the rule.

TABLE IV
Occupational Social Structure

	1870			1880	
Occupation	*Av. NPH*	*%*	*Occupation*	*Av. NPH*	*%*
Merchant	4.73	0.8	Merchant	4.19	3.4
Fisherman	5.62	1.4	Porter	5.02	1.2
Barber	5.76	1.9	Barber	6.13	2.3
Tailor	5.79	1.8	Prostitute	8.39	3.6
Porter	6.00	1.0	Sewing Machine Operator	9.52	1.2
Servant	8.02	2.0	Grocer	9.85	1.1
Cook	8.44	2.1	Actor	10.12	2.0
Fish Peddler	8.62	2.0	Tailor	10.43	5.1
Laborer	8.78	23.9	Shirtmaker	11.13	1.3
Mean NPH	8.94	——	Peddler	11.19	1.9
Vegetable Dealer	9.33	1.6	Cook	11.41	4.1
Miner	9.59	6.8	Clerk	12.04	2.0
Prostitute	11.13	17.9	Cigar Maker	12.36	17.8
Gambler	12.88	3.9	Mean NPH	13.41	——
Shoemaker	20.41	1.2	Carpenter	14.01	1.4
Cigar Maker	21.88	10.0	Shoemaker	15.17	7.8
			Servant	16.30	7.2
			Laundry	16.96	1.7
			Sailor	19.70	1.1
			Laborer	24.76	14.6

This could, of course, lead to the assumption that the general welfare of the Chinese community in San Francisco had declined between 1870 and 1880, but such an assumption cannot be made on the basis of NPH alone. We must give positive consideration to the self-sufficiency of Chinatown in 1880 and also to a set of other factors, such as income levels and the self-image of the Chinese, that the census does not measure.

The status of the other occupations, with the exception of the laborers and prostitutes, changed very little between 1870 and 1880. The relative status of porters, barbers, and peddlers remained fairly constant in these years. The status of the laborers dropped when an increasing supply of general labor met a decreasing demand for unskilled labor by the manufacturing firms. For example, within the clothing industry, it was the skilled sewing machine operators who were of a higher living standard than the general shirtmaker or clothing factory worker.

The standard of living by occupations reflects the changing Chinatown economy. As the manufacturing firms grew, the status of their employees came to typify the status of the average resident of Chinatown. The changing economy, with dependence on skilled labor, also created a sharp decline in the living standard of general laborers as the worth of skilled laborers increased. These changes, once again, demonstrate how many more similarities than differences the Chinese community had with the white community that surrounded it.

9. BIRTHPLACES IN 1880

Almost all the Chinese in Chinatown were from Kwangtung Province, in southeastern China. Of the 92.1% of the people listed with birthplaces more specific than "China," 91.3% were from Kwangtung. The remainder were: children born of Chinese parents in California, 0.3%; immigrants from Fukien, a province just north of Kwangtung, 0.3%; Kwangsi, a province just west of Kwangtung, 0.1%; and Shanghai, 0.1%.

The specificity of birthplaces varied greatly from one census taker to the next, ranging from "China" to local village names. In many cases the association to which a person belonged was listed as a birthplace. The most useful information for the purposes of comparison was the districts and associations listed for respondents.

If we keep in mind that 42.0% of the birthplaces are listed as Kwangtung and 7.5% as China, the percentages given in Table V for members of Young Wo and Yan Wo in Chinatown correspond closely to those given in Table VI for Chinese in all of California in 1877. The percentages for the Sze Yap and the Sam Yap, however, present a very different picture. In the 1880 Census, only 20.6% of the people in Chinatown are listed as Sze Yap, whereas the figure for California in 1877 is 82.0%. Only if we assume that all of those listed as being born in Kwangtung and China are Sze Yap, an unlikely assumption based on the known distribution for Chinatown, does the percentage of the Sze Yap in Chinatown approach that for California. At the same time the percentage of the Sam Yap in Chinatown is two and one-half times larger than the percentage in California, regardless of the 49.5% listed as Kwangtung and China. We can explain this when we consider that the Sam Yap were from the urban districts in which Canton is situated and that the Sze Yap were from rural districts fifty miles to the south of Canton. The people of these two areas tended to live in environments that were most familiar to them even in this country, hence, more Sam Yap lived in Chinatown and more Sze Yap lived elsewhere in California.

Though the Sze Yap and Sam Yap were from divergent backgrounds, the occupational structure, a structure where such differences might manifest themselves, does not reflect some expected variances. As is shown in Table

TABLE V

Birthplaces of the Chinese *in San Francisco, 1880*

Province	*Association*		*District or City*	*City or Area*
Kwangtung (91.3%)	....		Cher Hing (0.1%)	
			Swatow (0.0%)	
			Chon Chouls (0.0%)	
			Hoi Fong (0.0%)	
			Hong Kong (0.4%)	
			Ko Yiu (0.1%)	
			Sam Shui (0.1%)	
			Local Names (0.9%)	
	Yan Wo (1.7%)		Sun On (0.6%)	
	Young Wo (3.6%)		Heung Shan (1.6%)	Macao (0.1%)
			Pok Lo (0.1%)	
			Tun Kun (0.5%)	
	Sam Yap (19.8%)		Canton (2.9%)	Chiu Shing (0.2%)
			Namhoi (5.9%)	
			Punyu (1.9%)	Wampoa (0.1%)
			Shuntak (3.5%)	
	Sze Yap (20.6%)	Hop Wo (5.2%)	Hoiping (1.1%)	(Yan Hoi)
			Yanping (0.2%)	
		Ning Yeung (10.0%)	Sunning (3.5%)	
		Kong Chow (2.4%)	Sunwui (1.7%)	
			Hokshan (0.7%)	
			Szewui (0.0%)	

TABLE VI

Association Membership in California, 1877[18]

Association	*Number*		*Percent*	
Yan Wo	4,300		2.8	
Young Wo	12,000		7.9	
Sam Yap	11,000		7.3	
Hop Wo	34,000	—Sze Yap 124,000	22.5	—Sze Yap 82.0
Kong Chow	15,000		9.9	
Ning Yeung	75,000		49.6	
	151,300		100.0	

VII, the Sam Yap were not more numerous in such occupations as merchant and peddler, nor were the Sze Yap significantly fewer. The Sam Yap did, however, tend toward other urban occupations, such as prostitute, actor, and tailor, and tended away from the lesser skilled occupation of cigar maker. Conversely, the SzeYap tended toward low and unskilled occupations, such as cigar maker and laborer, and tended away from urban occupations, particularly prostitution. Given our previous knowledge of the dominant position of the merchants in each of the Six Companies, it would be wrong to assume that the lower percentage of merchants among the Sam Yap and Sze Yap in the sample is necessarily significant.

This is also true in the case of the Yan Wo Wui Kun where the sample did not include any merchants. It is interesting to note that despite the enmity existing between the Hakka (Yan Wo) and the rest of the Cantonese, Table VII does not indicate that this forced the Hakka into lower status occupations. In fact, the Hakka possessed such higher skilled occupations as tailor, sewing machine operator, and shoemaker. The only exception to this might be barber, which was considered a low status occupation in Confucian China and was also an occupation in which the Hakka were more numerous. The relatively higher status of the Hakka is reflected in the average NPH for the Yan Wo Wui Kun of 2.8 as opposed to 8.0 for Young Wo, 9.0 for the Sze Yap, and 16.4 for the Sam Yap.

TABLE VII

Percent of Each Association in Principal Occupations, 1880

Occupation	*Chinatown*	*Sam Yap*	*Sze Yap*	*Young Wo*	*Yan Wo*
Tailor	5.1	10.4	3.1	0	12.2
Sewing Machine Operator	1.2	2.7	1.5	0	7.6
Servant	7.2	3.4	2.6	3.5	0
Shirtmaker	1.3	1.0	1.6	9.6	0
Sailor	1.1	2.1	0.4	0	2.4
Shoemaker	7.8	5.1	6.2	22.5	14.6
Prostitute	3.6	6.7	0.9	0.9	0
Porter	1.2	0.7	0.9	6.1	0
Peddler	1.9	0.4	0.8	0.9	2.4
Merchant	3.4	3.3	2.4	7.0	0
Laborer	14.6	13.3	23.4	14.7	0
Laundryman	1.7	1.6	2.4	0	0
Grocer	1.1	2.3	0.5	3.5	0
Carpenter	1.4	1.0	0.8	0.9	2.4
Cigar Maker	17.8	5.8	28.0	0	12.2
Clerk	2.0	4.4	1.2	0.9	0
Cook	4.1	2.5	4.7	4.4	9.8
Barber	2.3	1.5	0.5	3.5	7.3
Actor	2.0	6.6	2.8	0	0

Caution must again be exercised in using these figures as hard empirical facts especially in light of the 49.5% of the birthplaces given as Kwangtung or China. The importance of these figures may not be in the situation they indicate, but rather in the situation they do not indicate. Whereas, we might have expected the Hakka to be discriminated against in the occupations they held, the information in the census indicates that this was not the case. It is the degree to which this was not true, that cannot be obtained with complete certainty. The birthplaces are most valuable as an indicator of tendency or direction, rather than as hard truths.

The data on the birthplaces of the Chinese reflect the influence of one's background on the place in which he chooses to live. In the case of Chinatown, this is shown in the high number of Sam Yap and the low number of Sze Yap relative to their numbers in all of California. The influence of background is again demonstrated by the presence of the more urban Sam Yap in urban occupations and the rural Sze Yap in less skilled occupations. The birthplace data also reveal that there was no apparent discrimination against the Hakka in terms of what occupations they could hold. This might indicate that, at least in terms of occupations, Chinatown was an open society within the confines placed upon it by the white society.

CONCLUSION

When supplemented by other materials, the Census can tell much about a period or community that could not be found in any other way. In this examination of Chinatown, the Census revealed not only where the immigrants came from but also the type of society in which they found themselves after their arrival in the United States. It was a society where men far outnumbered women and where families were the exception, not the commonplace. The result was that Chinatown depended on immigration to maintain its numbers and vitality.

Most importantly, the Census shows the many similarities Chinatown had with the white community that surrounded it. Many books have been written on Chinatown that concentrate on the so-called exotic nature of the Chinese quarter. Books of this kind have ignored the degree to which the Chinese and white economies had integrated by 1880. In 1870, Chinatown had depended upon Chinese miners and white patronization of her prostitutes for part of its economic sustenance. By 1880, this situation had been reversed with the decline of mining and the rise of manufacturing. The outside society now depended upon Chinatown for inexpensive labor, cigars, clothing, and shoes. It was not a situation where the Chinese laborers were overlorded by white managers and owners. Rather, the Chinese had gained sufficient ground in ownership that the white firms now considered them dangerous competitors. The result was the united opposition of white management and labor leading to the exclusion of Chinese laborers in 1882.

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[1] The population figures for 1870 and 1880 are based upon a count made of the manuscript censuses for Chinatown.

[2] Wolfram Eberhard, *Social Mobility in Traditional China.* (Leiden, 1962), p. 144.

[3] Ibid., p. 170.

[4] Ta Ch'ên, *Emigrant Communities in South China.* (New York, 1940), p. 140-3.

[5] Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1860: An Economic Study.* (Madison, 1963), p. 85, p. 127.

[6] Cal. State Senate. *Chinese Immigration-The Social, Moral, and Political Effect of Chinese Immigration, Testimony.* (Sacramento, 1876). p. 59.

[7] *Statistics on the Population of the U.S. in the Tenth Census (1880).* (Washington, 1883), p. 382.

[8] Standard classifications used in other studies of the U.S. Census were not suitable for this study. Presumably they are grounded in data taken predominantly from the white population, and thus reflect the occupational status of the white society. I was dealing with the Chinese community in San Francisco, and because the status of occupations in Confucian China differed from the status of occupations in the United States, there was no guarantee that the standard classifications were appliqable.

Presented with the inadequacies of existing methods of categorization, I developed my own method based upon the *number of people per household, NPH.* This index relies upon my own belief that people desire to live with as few people as they can afford. There are, of course, drawbacks. The census does not provide any means for determining the size of the living space of the household, which would influence the interpretation of NPH. I do not believe that this is too serious, since given the relatively large sample size, the disparity in the size of the living space would be averaged out. In other cases, in which people lived where they worked, such as prostitution, NPH might reflect the organization of the industry more than the wealth of its employees.

NPH can be used as a valuable indicator when used in a general way. NPH has utility when an error of a few people per household is assumed and it was with that limitation in mind that the occupational social structures in this study were created and analyzed.

[9] G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History.* (Ithaca, 1957), p. 136-7.

[10] Charles Dobie, *San Francisco's Chinatown.* (New York, 1936), p. 19.

[11] Eberhard, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[12] Chiu, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 106, p. 115. It was competition from the East, and not the Chinese, that was the main threat to the white shoe manufacturers.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[15] Langley's *San Francisco Directory, 1879-80,* (San Francisco, 1879). p. 932-4.

[17] Chiu, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[18] Otis Gibson, *The Chinese in America.* (Cincinnati, 1877), p. 340.

[19] G. B. Densmore, *The Chinese in California.* (San Francisco, 1880), p. 34.

SOURCES OF QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

By

BETTY LEE SUNG

I think you will have to be a little bit indulgent with me. I don't have a formal paper to present because for the last month or more, I have been traveling in the Far East. I just got back here in time for the Conference about two days ago and I was shown the program. I spoke with Chairman Thomas Chinn before I left, and had asked, "What do you want me to speak on?" He said, "We haven't formalized our plans yet." I said "All right, you find me something." Therefore, my topic is more or less extemporaneous, so please bear with me.

Another thing too. Having traveled constantly over the past month or so, you get what one calls jet lag. You sort of forget where you are, and you have to catch up with time. So I'm suffering from that. Another handicap that I'm operating under is that the work that I've been doing has been more contemporary rather than historical. I think one of the young ladies brought the subject up about the 1960 cut-off date this morning. I am on the Executive Committee of this Bicentennial Conference, and we did discuss this question. It is true, as Mr. Chinn said, that we have to let things, contemporary things, season a bit, so I went along with the decision to cut the date off at 1960. But that sort of leaves me out because most of my work has dealt with the last decade or so.

Also, I think events – most of the events of the Chinese-American – the big events, happenings, have occurred in more recent years. Some of the important ones are the change over in government on Mainland China. That is the time when most of the Chinese decided that they would no longer be sojourners in this country and that they would opt for permanent residence or become citizens of this country. Another very, very important factor that affected Chinese American history is the rising consciousness of the ethnic groups and minorities resulting from the Civil Rights movement during the 60s. And then, of course, the most important thing is the revision of the Immigration Act of 1965, which brought the quota from a mere 105 to over 20,000. This one factor has tremendously affected the situation of the Chinese in this country. Now we have for the first time a more balanced population. Instead of an all adult male society, we now have the elderly, we have the young, we have teenagers, we have women, so that our whole population is a changed population. For the first time we have a young, rising teenage group, a youth group now entering the colleges, who have a different outlook on life, who are challenging the status quo. The result is a whole shake-up of our Chinese-American society.

With this great upheaval, we are encountering massive problems. So the most crucial and agonizing period of Chinese-American history is NOW. But since the committee decided that we would confine our period prior to the 1960s, I was confronted with a dilemma. I couldn't speak about the findings of my research based upon the 1970 census, so Mr. Chinn suggested that I tell about the sources, the availability of the population information, and what those figures mean.

Perhaps I should mention that I was awarded a research grant from the Department of Labor to do a study of the Chinese, their occupational status and economic characteristics based upon the 1970 census. Mr. Chinn had said, "Here you are, generating all these figures, and rows and rows, and columns and columns of numbers. What do they mean? Most people take one look and they are scared off." So let me confine my topic to talking about the availability of statistical data, some of the sources, what uses can you make of the numbers, and what information can you derive from these numbers?

One of the sources that I have been working with is the U.S. census. For the first time in 1970, we have a separate booklet that the Bureau of Census published. This is a separate booklet on the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino. Prior to 1970, the availability of data from the census has always been very limited. Even in the 1960 census, the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino were lumped together in another booklet called "Non-White Population." Most of the time, the data pertained to the Blacks and the Whites, and we were always "Others." Since everybody else was lumped into "Others," we were quite indistinguishable.

Although the information presented in the 1970 census is very detailed giving breakdown on age, sex, marital status, educational level, occupation, physical mobility, native-born or foreign-born, etc., a lot of this information doesn't give one sufficient material to work with. I was able to do a special tabulation on my own, and I cross-tabulated a lot of this information, which will come out in a report shortly. There is a great deal of basic demographic information in this report. It would take more than 20 minutes, of course, to go into detail about my findings, but when the report does come out, it will come out under the auspices of City College of New York and Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor. When I get back to New York I will put it into type and it should come out by the end of this summer. (Report issued in September 1975. It is called *Chinese-American Manpower and Employment.)*

In my research I had to resort to many other sources as well. Some of these were summaries of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Reports. From this source, data are available about Orientals in various types of jobs by city and state. Another very good government source is the *Immigration and Naturalization Yearbook* in which detailed information is found about the Chinese immigrant. The Annual Reports are one of the most up-to-date sources of information because they come out every year. This publication will tell you who are the recent immigrants coming in. How many are there? Where are they going? Where are they coming from? Are they male or female? What kind of occupations were they in? These are very important data and do have a great deal of economic and social significance.

Figures in school enrollment are very important. In the big cities you have reports from the school districts giving ethnic breakdown. From there you can get a count of how many Asian Americans, Blacks, Puerto-Ricans there are. Unfortunately you do not get the Chinese by themselves because we are in with the Asian American group. But generally you can get some ideas from areas that have a large Chinese population.

Also, as a result of my research, although I was only supposed to study employment and occupation, I felt that here was a rare opportunity to go in with the computer and find other information from the Census. So I tabulated other information – social information – which will eventully come out in other publications.

A number that I have already done are a series of three monographs showing Chinese population by census tract. Most of the Chinese are concentrated in large metropolitan areas like New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other urban centers. Generally, the Chinese population will be given for the whole city. But then you may ask: Where are they concentrated? In what area? How many do they have in Chinatown? Are they spreading out; are they dispersing? Where are they moving to? In what direction are they going? Are they going into the better neighborhoods? Are they living with other minority groups? How are they redistributing themselves? As a result of my tabulation, I was able to break down the Chinese population by census tract. As I mentioned, three of these booklets have already come out. Some of the libraries may have received these copies, which give a breakdown of Chinese population by census tract for eleven Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. That almost covers about 95% of the Chinese in this country. I have a limited number of copies here with me, and those who are really doing serious work, I can let you have copies.

Another source of statistical data is local organizations. Some of these organizations publish their own booklets. Examples of these are the Chinese

Chamber of Commerce directories, the Restaurant Association Yearbook, student organization publications, etc.

City and State governments sometimes publish their own information on the Chinese. But as Him Mark Lai says, "You have to dig." You have to dig very hard, and sometimes you're rewarded very amply with a great deal of information. One thing I'd like to emphasize is that when we do find new sources, they should be made available to other researchers so that others won't have to go through the same route and waste time doing the work all over again.

Now a word of caution: I would like to point out that these sources are governmental sources. They are done by outsiders, and we have to take into account that there is a certain amount of bias in them. The figures may reflect cultural leanings that are not obvious to the outsider. The data may not be entirely accurate. For example, the census may be an undercount, yet it is the most reliable source that we have, because it is a 100 percent count and we have a 20 percent sample. So with the large numbers involved, I think we can get some trend and some sense of the Chinese population from the numbers.

As Mr. Chinn said, "Figures are unromantic. What can you learn from rows and rows and columns and columns of figures?" Actually figures tell us a great deal. I thought perhaps I'd take just a few minutes to tell you some of the information that can be gleaned or interpreted from my figures. (Of course, other people may interpret them in different ways.)

From the census we can learn how many there are of us, where we are, and how we're distributing ourselves. For instance, a very interesting fact that I've discovered is that more Chinese are now going to New York than are staying in San Francisco or in California. In fact, three times as many Chinese are going to New York rather than to San Francisco. Yesterday I was talking with Charles Chao, and he was mentioning the problems of Oakland, California and how difficult it was to get funding for the buildings that are going up. Is there a reluctance on the part of the Chinese to go to Oakland's Chinatown? And yet – everything in New York's Chinatown seems to be just busting out all over. Everywhere you see, Chinatown is just reaching out. From an area of about eight square blocks, we can see by the concentration of Chinese that they have spread to about nineteen census tracts. Right in this little area of nineteen census tracts in lower Manhattan you have more Chinese than the entire states of Illinois or Massachusetts combined. So from this information you can see where the problems are going to arise, where the adjustments have to be made, where the greatest need is.

Houston, Texas seems to be gaining tremendously in Chinese population. What is the reason for this? Again it is an intriguing question. San Jose has a tremendous number of professionals. Again, what causes this? I think I'll leave these questions to some of the other social scientists to ferret out. How about business background, business prospects? In New York's Chinatown there are about 260 restaurants going full blast. More seem to be popping up every day. There's over 200 garment factories utilizing Chinese women as garment workers.

Not only do you get a distribution pattern and the movement of population, the census also gives the figures of physical mobility. Are we a static population? Do we move from state to state? I found out that most of the Chinese – three out of five – have moved in the last five years. Either they have made the trans-Pacific leap, or they have moved. And this gives you a tremendous feeling of physical mobility. When they move out of Chinatown, perhaps we can call that social mobility.

From the census, we can also obtain social data, such as sex, foreign-born or native-born, age, marital and family status, etc. I think an important clue to social behavior is whether you're native born or foreign born. Another item of information which came out in my studies although it did not pertain to employment, was the rate of intermarriage. The census gives a breakdown in the married category. I figured that within the age group of 24 to 35 about 40 percent of the males are now intermarrying. Forty percent! Two out of five. That is a tremendously high rate. These are some of the interesting facts you can uncover.

I found out also that the number of Chinese children being born is declining at a fantastic rate. The average Chinese family is only 3.7. Not even two children per family. The women are not having children until a much later age. And when they have children, they have one or two.

In economic data, the census reveals a concentration of occupation. The Chinese are no longer in laundries; they are fast becoming extinct. The Chinese are no longer in laundries, but they are concentrating heavily in restaurants. One out of every third person employed is in the restaurant business. And one out of three are in professions. The proportion of Chinese females in the labor force is higher than that for either whites or blacks. There is a social implication in this fact because formerly Chinese women did not work outside of their homes. Again, what effect does this have on the family? Almost half of the Chinese women working in New York City work in garment factories as seamstresses.

How about health data? Health data is available from the Public Health Administration and from the Vital Statistics Bureaus of the various cities. I remember I spoke to an Asian American class just a while back in Seton Hall, New Jersey, and one of the young students challenged me. He said, "What are talking about research on statistics for? Don't you realize there are social problems in Chinatown?"

I asked, "What kind of problems?"

He replied, "Health, for instance."

"Well, what shall we do about the health problem? What are the main problems?"

His answer was , "T.B., for example."

“How do you know? What is the rate of T.B.?”

“His reply: “I don't know.”

I said, “What do you think is the main health problem in Chinatown today?” In my courses at City College New York I put my students into the community. I mean we don't do things in an isolated fashion aside from reality. My students work right in the community. I assign them particular problems to deal with. In one clinic which was set up in Chinatown, the doctor asked that his diagnoses be tabulated. From a year's work at the clinic he had seen about 900 patients. One of my students tabulated the diagnoses and the illnesses. It was found that out of 900 patients that visited that clinic during the year, there was only one case of T.B. But to his surprise, what do you think the main problem plaguing the Chinese was? You would never guess. Can I get a response from the audience? Yes, high blood pressure. Hypertension is the main problem. Not very long ago doctors used to say, “Everybody should eat rice because the Chinese have low blood pressure.” Today because of the mental stress in adapting to a new land, the Number One health problem among the Chinese is hypertension. So that is how statistics can help.

Comment: Stanford M. Lyman, *New School for Social Research, New York*

2:00- 3:00 p.m.

#5 – SIGNIFICANT CHINESE FROM AMERICA'S PAST

Chairman: Robert A. Nash, *Sierra Madre, California*

DR. NG POON CHEW AND THE HISTORY OF THE CHINESE IN AMERICA

By

CORINNE K. HOEXTER

Chapter XII The Politics of Immigration*

> Economic competition always tends to increase the feeling of nationalistic prejudice.
>
> –Brown, *Immigration. . . .*

Among the rare journalists who sympathize with the Chinese in San Francisco at this time was a disciple of Henry George's Single Tax movement named Patrick Healy. Healy had written articles sympathetic to the Chinese in several magazines. He had been shocked in his investigation by the violence of the prejudice against the Chinese in all fields of labor despite the universal conviction that they were honest, reliable workers. He determined to touch America's conscience and encourage her to render justice to the much-abused Chinese. Looking for a Chinese-American with the background to help him, he had been introduced to Ng Poon Chew.

Patrick Healy met Ng Poon Chew, just as Chew was involved in his own plans to fight the stifling provisions of the latest Exclusion Act. Chew perceived that this new Act was a threat to all the hopes that he had cherished for the Chinese in America. Chew agreed to share with Healy the documentary evidence that he had been accumulating for several years listing anti-Chinese acts by Americans. Healy and Chew agreed that they would write a book together, using only the sober facts that Chew had assembled. They hoped that the facts were powerful enough to tell their story.

At the time of the Treaty of 1904 Chew had allowed himself a rare outburst of bitterness:

> . . . we are now stuck with an Agreement, nominally to protect the Chinese in the United States but in fact all Chinese, whether they are merchants or officials, teachers, students or tourists, are reduced to the status of dogs in America. The dogs must have with them necklaces [their registration] which attest to their legal status before they are allowed to go out [into the streets]. Otherwise they would be arrested as unregistered, unowned wild dogs and would be herded

[*Chapter of forthcoming book.]

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> into a detention camp . . . This is analogous to the present plight of the Chinese in America. The U.S. Immigration officers in the interior keep harassing our merchants, officials, missionaries, students and tourists. Their vigilance is not too different from the street dog catchers . . . Though the Treaty was designed to prohibit labor and protect officials, students and merchants, now the U.S. Government is attempting to expel all Chinese.[1]

Spurred on by his comprehension of the extreme situation of the Chinese community in America and by a dynamic mixture of anger and hope, Chew and his friend Healy worked swiftly on their *Statement for Non-Exclusion.* They traced the whole history of American involvement with the Chinese back to the tea trade conducted by New England merchants in the late 18th century which helped bring China the dubious gift of cheap, plentiful opium. They pointed out that America had usually been the aggressor in Sino-American relations, forcing the Chinese to trade, seeking out labor for mines and railroads, the great ranches and the kitchens and parlors of San Francisco homes. Always the Chinese had come because their help had been wanted for a job no one else cared to fill. Sadly they recorded the long list of atrocities against the Chinese going back to the 1850's. They explored the press propaganda which had whipped economic fears of competing labor into a hysteria of mob hatred. They enumerated the bitter fruit born of this heightened prejudice against the Chinese – from the discriminatory California laws and San Francisco ordinances of mid-century to the Exclusion Laws and rigid immigration regulations of their own day. As Chew studied the situation, he had become more and more disturbed by the contrast between the treatment of Chinese in the United States and that of other foreign groups. And the reason for that difference was all too clear to him, and impossible of remedy in the current state of the law:

> In the American political system, the President and legislators are elected by citizens. In America, all other aliens are granted the right to naturalization and hence citizenship and the right to vote. Since the American President, senators and congressmen do not have to court Chinese votes, they can deliberately violate the principles of equality [for the Chinese].[2]

As Chew and Patrick Healy worked at white heat on their book, the spirit of newly awakened nationalism was bearing fruit throughout the Chinese world. The reforms instituted by the Manchus, restricted and partial as they were, opened the gate to a longing for more fundamental reform. When the giant backward Russian Empire was defeated by the island kingdom of Japan, it was seen in China as a victory of Asia over the West, of constitutional reform over despotism.

For America the most immediate, practical result of the new national pride in China was the development of the boycott against American goods. The boycott began in the treaty ports where Americans had established their main trading centers. The rising class of Chinese merchants there were angry. These Chinese businessmen saw their countrymen barred from free entry into the U.S. and were faced with degrading restrictions themselves when they traveled to America.

In July 1905 Chinese firms in the treaty ports were pressing for a ban on all business dealings with America, including such imports as cotton cloth from Southern mills and kerosene. Schools and colleges discarded American books from their regular course of study. By the end of July, Getz Bros., one of the biggest American firms trading with China, had received word that the boycott was a total success from the point of view of the Chinese merchants. The *New York Times* editorial column explained the connection between the boycott and American treatment of merchants and other exempt classes. It also spoke of Chinese resentment over U.S. extension of the ban on Chinese labor to our newly-won dependencies of Hawaii and the Philippines. "In the context of the Pacific, it makes no sense and threatens the prosperity" of Chinese merchants.[3]

Chinatown in San Francisco responded with even more enthusiasm than to the cause of the Reform Party. Placards appeared exhorting all local merchants to observe the boycott and press for the repeal of the Exclusion Law. Meetings were held to raise money in support of the boycott. Inspired by this first unified expression of Chinese pride in many decades, Chew had especially high hopes for his book, urging *Non-Exclusion.*

Americans were stunned, especially when the boycott began to pinch Southern cotton growers, Northern textile mills, and Standard Oil with its "oil for the lamps of China." Had we not always been China's friend? they asked somewhat naively.

Though not so eager for land nor so prone to "gunboat diplomacy" as Europe, America had treated Chinese on American soil, even in some cases diplomats, in such a humiliating way as to cancel out any benefits we might have gained by our lack of territorial greed. One Chinese diplomat in Washington, arrested for lacking visa or registration, had been tied by his queue to a fence. The loss of honor was too much for him to bear, and he committed suicide.

A month before the boycott officially began, American bankers and millowners had already called on President Theodore Roosevelt to protest the conditions which were making this anti-American movement possible. Faced with the threat to our China trade, Roosevelt was forced to examine our whole China policy.

Though unable to force Congress to amend the law without popular support, he intended to do his best, as he informed the worried businessmen:

> Our laws and treaties should be so framed as to guarantee to all Chinamen, save of the excepted coolie class, the same right of entry to this country, and the same treatment while here, as is guaranteed to any

> other nation. By executive action, I am as rapidly as possible putting a stop to the abuses which have grown up during many years in the administration of the law. I can do a great deal, and will do a great deal even without the action of Congress, but I cannot do all that should be done unless some action is taken [by Congress]. . .[4]

An executive order from President Roosevelt did go through to the Immigration Service charging them to discard their abusive treatment of legitimate Chinese merchants and travelers. Meanwhile Congress went so far as to conduct an investigation into the causes of the boycott. The committee turned up the information that American immigration practices were the chief cause of Chinese resentment. There the matter rested.

Unfortunately for Roosevelt's good intentions and the hopes nourished in American Chinatowns and Chinese treaty ports by the success of the boycott, America's whole view of immigration was changing. The Chinese were no longer the main bone of contention in the eyes of most Americans, but they were to be coincidental losers.

After 1882 there was a dramatic change in the size and nature of immigration to the United States. Whereas most of the "old immigrants" had come from northern and western Europe, the "new immigrants" came from eastern and southern Europe. Before this time immigrants from Italy, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Russia and the Balkans, together with Turkey and the Near East, had not sent more than 8,000 to 10,000 immigrants a year. But between 1900 and 1914, the outbreak of World War I, each of these areas sent as many as ten times that number and more. The Austrian Empire accounted for 3,100,000, Italy for 3,000,000, Russia for 2,500,000 and the Balkans and Near East for 900,000. In fifteen years 9,500,000 people entered the United States, mostly through the port of New York where many of them stayed. American Protestants beheld Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Jews and Mohammedans bring their customs and modes of worship to the land of the Pilgrim Fathers. Many Americans forgot that they too had once been immigrants seeking religious and political liberty and economic betterment. Many did not realize that even in the years of heaviest immigration the foreign-born population of the United States never exceeded 15%, a 3% rise over the average of other years. Overwhelmed by a sense of being engulfed in a foreign invasion, many more Americans came to feel about the new immigrants as they had once felt about the Chinese, that they would corrupt and dominate the American way of life.

On the Pacific Coast, meanwhile, Japanese immigrants, who had been taking over Chinese jobs, especially in agriculture, had heightened anti-Oriental feeling in California where most of them settled. Now Chinese Exclusion groups took Japanese and Koreans as their targets as well and reorganized into Asiatic Exclusion Leagues.

The "new immigration" was becoming the target of other groups besides the Native American and super-patriot groups who had always opposed immigration. While mostly simple peasants like the "old immigrants," the "new immigrants" were flooding into the cities where their labor was required in factories and on construction projects instead of going west to farm. In the cities where the immigrants were crowded together in slums, they came into more direct, abrasive contact and competition with Americans than formerly. As a result, organized labor became vocal in opposition to all immigrants, who, they felt, were taking jobs from American workers.

By 1905 immigration had become one of the central and obsessive concerns of the American people. Among those organizations impressed by the importance of the issue was the National Civic Federation, one of many reform groups associated with the Progressive movement. The Progressive movement, which had strongly influenced Theodore Roosevelt, had arisen around the turn of the century to combat the evils spawned by the Industrial Revolution and the rise of cities. The Federation issued invitations to all groups and prominent individuals concerned with immigration to send delegates to a Conference on Immigration to be held at Madison Square Garden Concert Hall in early December 1905.

The Chinese community in San Francisco, as being the most important in the country, received an invitation to send a representative who could speak in its behalf. By this time the *Chung Sai Yat Po* and its editor, once so fiercely opposed by the establishment in Chinatown, were universally regarded as among its brightest ornaments. What better Chinese delegate could there be to speak before a distinguished American audience than Ng Poon Chew, the witty dramatic speaker and editor, co-author of a major treatise opposing exclusion?

It is probably at this time that Chew requested and was granted an interview with President Theodore Roosevelt. Like the majority of Americans of his generation, Chew was fascinated by the character of Theodore Roosevelt, the first President to make such a strong impression on his country since Abraham Lincoln, the first to achieve stature in the eyes of the world. Roosevelt's strong posture in foreign affairs, his sponsorship of domestic reforms, his honest administration and strong executive leadership contrasted with the colorless presidents who had preceded him.

Chew's interview with the President only reinforced a lifelong admiration. Early in his administration, Roosevelt had shocked public opinion by inviting the ranking black leader, Booker T. Washington, to lunch at the White House. Representing another sometimes-despised race, Chew received a warm welcome from the President, who shared with the former Presbyterian minister a concern for the "moral tone" of his times. He pointed out to Chew that his Executive order calling for fair and courteous treatment of Chinese immigrants and visitors was reportedly bringing improvement in their reception. However, Chew must realize that any major modification of the law must come from Congress.

In the euphoria of actually having talked to the President, Chew went on to the Conference in New York. Chew was well aware of the intense opposition to his views even before the conference got around to discussing Asiatic immigration, which was scheduled to take place on the last day, Friday, December 8. On Wednesday, December 6, August Belmont II, President of the National Civic Federation, opened the Conference before 500 delegates. He set the keynote — a judicious study of the "relation of alien to domestic labor" as well as the "effect of alien labor upon the progress of the negro."

Two of the most prominent labor leaders of the day — Terence Powderly of the Knights of Labor and Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor—were to be among the main speakers. Gompers, himself an immigrant from England, immediately attacked all alien laborers for taking the bread out of the mouths of American workers. Isador Strauss, the department store owner and philanthropist who helped build Macy's into the world's biggest store, recalled that two of the speakers, himself and Gompers, were immigrants and that the other, Belmont, was the son of an immigrant. While admitting that the crowded situation of modern American cities called for some restriction of immigration, he spoke out for the "fundamental human right to migrate from misery and poverty to hope."[5]

The next day, Gompers tried to take the floor again with a special attack on Chinese immigration, but was told to save his remarks on the subject till Friday.[6] Gompers was to be Chew's most strenuous and determined opponent. His most famous utterance on the subject of Chinese exclusion had been his pamphlet *Meat vs. Rice* which set out to prove that American workers, family men who needed meat to keep up their strength, were no match for the single Chinese, who could work well on rice alone. Moreover, he poisoned his economic arguments with vicious turn-of-the-century anti-Chinese stereotypes.

On Friday morning ex-Senator Higgins took the chair for the discussion of Asiatic immigration. Though favorable to the entry of merchants, students, etc., he utterly opposed the admission of laborers "for racial reasons." Chew, the personification of the adaptability of the Chinese that they all claimed was impossible, walked to the platform in his modern dress, short-cut hair, Teddy Roosevelt moustache. Most telling symbol of his American credentials was his exceptional mastery of the English language. The essence of his speech was reported in the *New York Times* the next day:

> I am here to plead the cause of the yellow people, not a yellow cause. Some people have a great fashion of calling things they do not like yellow. You exclude the yellow man. You fear the yellow peril. I edit a white paper turned out by yellow men, and many white men turn out yellow papers. [Laughter and applause] I do not ask the admission of all the Chinese people, or even of the laboring classes although of right they ought to come. According to the ideas of civilization of the twentieth century, a nation has no right except that which it can enforce. This doctrine denies us the right of entry here

> until we have the might to demand equal treatment with other countries. China will some day be ready for this. She is preparing to be a great nation by learning to kill the largest number of men in a given time, with the least expense to herself. Then, and not until then, will she be looked upon as a power to be reckoned with.
>
> Of course, we have Chinese people of bad character, gamblers and opium eaters. If I were a woman, I would rather my husband, if he insisted on taking something, took opium rather than whisky. Whisky transforms men into brutes. Opium transforms them into living corpses. The American, filled with whisky, comes home and kicks his wife. The Chinaman comes home and his wife kicks him. [Laughter]
>
> You say you are afraid the 100,000 Chinamen will contaminate your 80,000,000 people. American workingmen, who fear neither God nor the devil, say they are afraid of the inoffensive Chinaman. I cannot credit that. I do not ask the repeal of the Exclusion Act, but its modification. The Exclusion Act forbids the entry of Chinamen into the United States except five classes, officials, merchants, teachers, students and travelers, but the restrictions are such that it is impossible for almost any of these classes to enter. We want better men as inspectors of immigration, not the pigheaded, oyster-brained officials you have now.[7]

A great burst of laughter, cheers and applause greeted the end of Chew's speech. The *Times* summed it up neatly by saying that he "made the hit of the day."

Yet the enthusiasm of the crowd in no way deterred the next three speakers from making their stereotyped attacks upon the undesirability of the "coolie." One speaker, Walter MacArthur, a labor leader, went further by asking to extend the ban to Japanese and Koreans. "The Mongolian race is opposed to the Caucasian," he insisted in a popular cliché. "They corrupt our men and women. Mr. Poon Chu seems able to do more than most other editors. He can travel across the country to express his opinions when other editors in California are sticking to their business."

MacArthur's "personal attack" upon Chew was highly unpopular with the delegates, who "greeted it with hisses." After lunch two missionaries praised the good qualities of the Japanese and Chinese respectively. Perhaps under the influence of this more positive approach the Resolutions Committee reported a resolution about Chinese immigration that was a slight improvement over the current law. It advocated *admitting* all Chinese except "coolies, Chinese skilled and unskilled labor."

Samuel Gompers rose, the personification of the middle-of-the-road labor leader. With strong irony, he said that it was all very well for the "reverential and professional gentlemen" to "throw your gates wide open, but it is a very different proposition for the American workingman. The American workingman realizes that his condition is better than that of any other workingman in any part of the world, but he is not yet satisfied. There is room for improvement and in securing it, the admission of the Chinese would be fatal."[7]

Terence Powderly of the Knights of Labor strongly seconded Gompers' view and stated that the American people did not wish to associate with the Chinese. Swayed by Chew's eloquence, the Conference had at first recommended a more positive approach to the Chinese immigration question. But now, pushed by the anti-Chinese forces, they were in the process of changing back to the unfortunate wording of "exclusion" with the exempt classes merely "excepted" from the provisions of the law rather than freely admitted.

So Chew had journeyed East to see President Roosevelt and address the Immigration Conference with a plea for his people. What had he to show for it? The epitaph for the Conference was an editorial in the *New York Times* on "The Chinese Labor Puzzle" which allowed Chew to be "a Chinese humorist upon whose shoulders the mantle of Minister Wu [Ting-Fang, former Chinese minister to the U.S. and a very popular speaker] has settled." But beyond this brief accolade, the whole editorial dealt with the "yellow peril" in polite terms. Even though the Chinese were unlikely to come here in such numbers as to "engulf" Americans, there was a possibility that they might. After all, they had done so in Mongolia and Manchuria. Far from being inoffensive as Chew maintained, "the Chinaman's single mindedness" was what "gives him the upper hand" when he "comes in competition" with another people . . . "Let us beware of complicating our problems by opening the gates to a flood of yellow brethren."[8]

The Conference had still another ironic footnote which Chew could not yet foresee as he rode home on the train, contemplating the wreck of his hopes. His speech had done for Chew what it had not done for the Chinese. He was shortly to emerge as a man much sought after, most desirable for addressing public meetings and speaking before organizations of every stripe from schools to churches to service clubs to veterans' groups.

Footnotes–Chapter XII

[1] Editorial, "The U.S. Government to Extend the Exclusion Agreement, Part 6, "*CSYP*, April 2, 1904.
[2] *Op. cit.*, April 2, 1904.
[3] Editorial, "The Chinese Boycott," *The New York Times*, July 22, 1905, page 6.
[4] Roosevelt, Theodore, *State Papers*.
[5] *The New York Times*, December 7, 1905, page 2.
[6] *The New York Times*, December 8, 1905, page 2.
[7] *The New York Times*, December 9, 1905, page 2.
[8] *The New York Times*, December 9, 1905, page 6.

EXAMPLE FOR THE NATION: NEVADA'S EXECUTION OF GEE JON

By

LOREN B. CHAN

On the evening of August 27, 1921, Tom Quong Kee, a seventy-four-year-old Chinese laundryman and nominal member of the Bing Kung Tong, was awakened by someone knocking on the rear door of his cabin in the little mining town of Mina, Nevada, located about 175 miles south of Reno. Clad in pajamas and a jacket and holding a lighted candle in one hand, the old man groped his way to the door. When he opened it, he was confronted by two other Chinese, one standing in front of another. The man standing in back pulled out a .38 caliber Colt revolver, and promptly fired two shots at Tom over the shoulder of his confederate. The bullets went into and through the old laundryman's heart.[1]

It was a brutal and senseless killing, but a part of the overall pattern of tong warfare then plaguing some segments of the Chinese-American community in California.[2] The violence spread to areas in the neighboring state, since most towns in western Nevada were economically and socially tied to the cities of northern California.

In 1921, the Chinese sections of many northern California towns and cities were afflicted by feuding tongs. The fighting in San Francisco supposedly started because a member of the Hop Sing Tong stole a Chinese slave girl belonging to a member of the opposing Suey Sing Tong. To avenge the injustice suffered by one of its members at the hands of a member of an opposing tong, the Suey Sing council, supported by an ally, the Bing Kung Tong, declared "war" on the Hop Sings. The signal was given for the commencement of ten months of tit for tat violence.[3]

Just a few hours after Tom Quong Kee was slain at Mina, Nevada, Chinese opera performer Leong Quie Sang was shot twice in the head while preparing a late evening snack in the kitchen of his San Franicsco apartment.[4] Wherever there were tong members, the violence was bound to spread. By the end of August 1921, even smaller towns like Watsonville and Marysville were affected.[5] In Fresno, Gee Sing received a bullet wound in his right ear after a tong assailant fired three shots at him with a .32 caliber pistol.[6] To the north in Oakland, Woo Wai, a prosperous San Francisco herbalist, was stopped on a street corner by two men in a large automobile. Two shots rang out, the first of which struck and killed him.[7] There were probably other murders which went unnoticed and unrecorded.

In Nevada, however, the killing of Tom Quong Kee was the big news. On Sunday morning, August 28, 1921, a Chinese vegetable peddler went looking for Tom. Peering through one of the windows of Tom's cabin, he saw his friend's body sprawled on the floor. He notified the justice of the peace in

Mina, L. E. Cornelius, who in turn called the situation to the attention of deputy sheriff W. J. Hammill.[8] The deputy examined the body and scene of the crime, and traced the footprints of two persons from the cabin to a spot where there were automobile tire tracks and some empty beer bottles.

Only eight to ten days before, Hammill saw two Chinese strangers in Mina at the Palace Cafe, men who were supposedly looking for work. At that time, the deputy was warned that the pair were not unemployed and innocent, but were tong members sent from Reno to kill the aged Tom. Because of his suspicions, Hammill telephoned Reno police chief John M. Kirkley to be on the lookout for a car bearing two Chinese male suspects. The men were apprehended.[9]

Physically, twenty-nine-year-old Gee Jon and nineteen-year-old Hughie Sing did not seem intimidating. China-born Gee stood 5¼ inches, and weighed 129 pounds. Hughie, who was born in Carson City, measured only 5 feet, 2½ inches tall, and tipped the scale at a modest 105 pounds.[10] Gee emigrated from Canton, China around 1907 or 1908. Except for a brief stay of two to three months in Stockton's Chinatown, he lived his entire life in the United States within the confines of San Francisco's Chinatown. Hence he had difficulty in understanding and speaking English.[11] Hughie Sing, on the other hand, attended grammar school in Carson City, and could speak, read, and write both English and Chinese.[12] He had been a member of the Hop Sing Tong for only two months prior to being enlisted as Gee's partner in crime.[13]

After their arrest, both suspects were interrogated by the Reno police. Chief Kirkley advised Hughie that anything he said could be used against him in court, and that it would be best for him to tell the truth.[14] Thinking that he might be set free immediately if he cooperated with the authorities, Hughie confessed his role in the crime and also implicated Gee.[15] Both Gee and Hughie were sent back to Mina, where they were held without bail until a preliminary hearing was held on September 8, 1921. W. H. Chang of San Francisco, most likely a Hop Sing Tong member, secured the services of Reno attorney James M. Frame as defense counsel.[16]

On the advice of counsel, Hughie repudiated his oral confession.[17] Both Gee and Hughie waived the right to make a statement at the September 8 hearing. Their counsel entered pleas of "not guilty" for each of them.[18]

Trial was held in Hawthorne from November 28 to December 3, 1921 before the Seventh Judicial District Court for Mineral County, Nevada. Both men denied being members of the Hop Sing Tong, shooting Tom Quong Kee, or going to Mina with the intention of killing him. They claimed to be on their way to Tonopah, where they wanted to obtain employment in a restaurant.[19] Hughie also said that he confessed to the Reno police chief in the belief that he would be immediately freed.[20]

The court was not convinced. According to prior testimony of witnesses and law enforcement officials, the two accused Chinese were in Mina eight to ten days before the killing. At that time they looked over the town, and surveiled their intended victim. Previously, Hughie had lived with Tom in Mina for two years; such experience and his knowledge of English made him the best person to guide Gee Jon on his murderous mission.[21]

Both men were found guilty of first degree murder.[22] After the new year, Judge J. Emmett Walsh pronounced death sentences on the two killers. According to a law passed in 1921 by the thirtieth session of the state legislature and signed by Governor Emmet D. Boyle, all criminals sentenced to death were to be executed by means of lethal gas. Gee Jon and Hughie Sing were the first to be affected by the new law.[23]

Prior to 1921, criminals sentenced to death in Nevada were executed in a variety of ways. Before 1905, most of the condemned were put to death by county officials; hence from 1866 to 1913, only ten men were executed at the state prison.[24] Moreover, methods of execution were variable. Up until January 1, 1912, hanging was the most common mode of execution; from 1912 to 1921, a condemned person could choose between a rope or a firing squad.[25]

When the thirtieth session of the state legislature convened in 1921, Deputy Attorney General Frank Kern—influenced by the ideas of Dr. Allen McLean Hamilton, an eastern toxicologist—prevailed upon Assemblymen J. H. Hart of Lovelock and Harry L. Bartlett of Elko to introduce a bill in the lower house that would make lethal gas the sole method of administering the death penalty.[26] Gas was believed to be the most humane way to end life, especially if it were to be administered while the condemned person was under the influence of a soporific drug. Little pain would be felt in passing from life to death.[27]

Hart and Bartlett introduced their Assembly Bill 230 on March 8, 1921. It was favorably reported out of committee, and passed the lower house by a vote of 30 to 1 in favor on March 15. The Senate received the bill later that same day, and quickly approved the measure by a vote of 14 to 1.[28] On March 28, Governor Emmet D. Boyle signed the bill, which stated that "The judgment of death shall be inflicted by the administration of lethal gas . . . "[29] Thus Nevada became the first state in the country to permit the use of poisonous gas in legally ending human life.[30]

The new statute was to be implemented for the first time in the case of Gee Jon and Hughie Sing. Only adroit legal maneuvering and persuasive argumentation could possibly save the pair. They were ably represented by attorney James M. Frame. After Judge Walsh pronounced death sentences on the two Chinese, Frame moved for a new trial. Walsh denied the motion, and Frame was ready to appeal to the state supreme court.[31]

After their trial at Hawthorne, Gee and Hughie were taken under the custody of Sheriff Frederick B. Balzar to the state prison in Carson City, where they were to be incarcerated until their sentences were carried out.[32] Hughie was confident, but also prepared for the worst:

> I don't think there's no hope, unless maybe the supreme court does something. Our lawyer said he'd file something in the supreme court within thirty days, but if the court don't act I guess we'll have to die.[33]

During the latter part of February 1922, Frame filed an appeal with the state supreme court, contending that execution by lethal gas constituted cruel and unusual punishment. The appeal automatically served as a stay of execution for the two men, who originally had been ordered executed between April 16-22, 1922.[34] The first of a long series of legal maneuvers started.

In January of 1923 the court rendered a decision on the 1922 appeal. The murder convictions were sustained, legal gas execution was held to be neither cruel nor unusual punishment, and the state's execution law was deemed specific and precise in the wording of its title. Moreover, a defense motion for a new trial was denied.[35]

Undaunted, attorney Frame filed another appeal to the state supreme court for a rehearing of the Gee and Hughie case. The court reacted unfavorably.[36] Frame and his partner, Fiore Raffetto, then decided to apply for a writ of certorari in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. They stressed the refusal of Nevada's highest state court to grant Gee and Hughie separate trials, the cruel and unusual nature of lethal gas execution, and the defective wording of the title of Nevada's 1921 capital punishment statute.[37]

Nothing much happened as a result of the action, however, for the Nevada supreme court refused to give its assent to be sued on the writ. Thereafter, the attorneys for the Chinese petitioned the state supreme court a second time for a rehearing; and again, the court ruled in the negative. According to the court's procedures, second petitions for rehearings were not allowed. In addition, defense counsel wanted to argue the case on new grounds beyond those contained in the first petition. Therefore denial of the second petition was certainly justified.[38]

By the first part of September 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court seemed to be the court of last resort. Attorneys Frame and Raffetto applied to the state supreme court for a writ of error, so that the case of Gee and Hughie could be carried to the nation's highest tribunal. On behalf of the state court, Chief Justice Edward A. Ducker denied the application for the writ.[39] The judicial road, however, was not completely blocked. If one of the justices on the U.S. Supreme Court were willing to hear a petition for a writ of error, then he and his fellow justices could hear the case *even* with the prejudice of the Nevada supreme court's refusal to grant a writ of error.[40] A petition for a writ of error was first presented to Associate Justice Joseph McKenna, and then to Chief Justice William Howard Taft. Both members of the highest court refused to permit the petition to be filed.[41] Thereafter, Frame and Raffetto could only direct any further efforts to spare the lives of their clients toward state officials.

In January of 1924, the two attorneys tried to persuade the state supreme court to allow a petition for a writ of prohibition to be filed, whereby District Judge Walsh would be restrained from setting a date for the execution of Gee and Hughie. The title of the execution law, according to Frame and Raffetto, did not specifically cover the subject of lethal gas execution. If the law was invalid for that reason, an execution date could not be set until the title of the law was changed. The court considered the title of the law valid and sufficient, and denied the petition.[42] By mid-January, most of the legal avenues of appeal were exhausted. About the last group that might be approached was the state board of pardons, consisting of the governor, the three state supreme court justices, and the attorney general.[43]

Believing that the board would be swayed by the nature of public opinion, Frame and Raffetto started to circulate petitions in various parts of the state: four in Reno, one in Carson City, and one in southern Nevada.[44] The petitions, addressed to the board of pardons, declared:

> The undersigned respectfully petition your honorable body to commute the sentence of Gee Jon and Hughie Sing, Chinese, from death to life imprisonment.
>
> We are informed that Hughie Sing is a mere boy, being only nineteen years of age at the time of the commission of the crime, and that Gee Jon was at the time of the commission of the crime an illiterate Chinese unacquainted with American customs and not likely to fully know and appreciate the enormity of the act.
>
> We feel that the extreme penalty should not be exacted and think that commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment would fully vindicate the law and subserve public good and avoid the horror of taking human life by administration of lethal gas, a new and untried method.[45]

In addition, the two lawyers sent more than four hundred letters to prominent Nevadans, imploring them to intercede with the board on behalf of Gee and Hughie.[46]

Frame and Raffetto became engrossed in trying to save the two Chinese. They dropped all of their other case work to concentrate on Gee and Hughie.[47] Time indeed was running short. Judge Walsh set February 8, 1924 as the date of execution.[48] The board of pardons would meet on January 25.[49]

Public opinion, on which the two defense attorneys hoped to rely, proved to be quite varied, Several different matters had to be weighed: the racial and ethnic origins of the two condemned slayers; the nature of their crime; whether or not they deserved to be executed; and the mode of their execution. On the various petitions circulated, about five hundred signatures were obtained. Petitions were sent to the board of pardons from students on the Reno campus of the University of Nevada, the League of Women Voters in Reno, and from the citizens of Reno and Carson City. Letters to the board calling for life imprisonment instead of death for the Chinese also arrived from Reno, Dayton, and Genoa.[50]

On the other hand, those most familiar with the actual crime committed by Gee and Hughie were the least sympathetic. Mineral County District Attorney Jay H. White called the murder of Tom Quong Kee

> purely a clean-cut premeditated murder without any extenuating circumstances. The crime was one of the most atrocious and cold-blooded in

> the history of the state. Testimony of the trial will show that applications for commutation of sentence are illogical in view of the facts of the case.[51]

In support of the district attorney were ten of the original twelve district court jurors. Only two of the jurors favored commuting the sentences of Gee and Hughie to life imprisonment.[52]

If the jurors could not agree on the question of commutation, neither could the press. Racial considerations were prominent. The *Fallon-Standard* maintained that if Hughie Sing were white, at most he would have been convicted of second degree murder. Gee Jon did the actual shooting, not Hughie. The younger Chinese was merely an accomplice. The *Standard's* editorial concluded by asserting that if Hughie were white, he would not be in danger of being executed.[53]

In contrast to the Fallon newspaper, the *Tonopah Daily Times* used the race question in a different fashion. It called the convicted slayers "Chinese coolies," and termed the long legal appeal process "the stubborn fight waged by the tongs for the lives of their murderous tools." The editor of the *Times* insisted that

> the state should serve notice on the high court of San Francisco's Chinatown that its behests will not be obeyed in at least one state on the Pacific coast. Let these murderers survive through commutation or pardon—the action would establish Nevada as the slaughterhouse of the tongs.[54]

The race issue thus was used to plead for justice in one case, and to incite the "yellow peril" prejudices of white Nevadans on the other.

The racial consideration was kept alive when the board of pardons met in the governor's office in Carson City on January 25, 1924. Arguments for and against commutation of the death sentences of Gee and Hughie lasted for four hours, and the room was filled with curious reporters and spectators. James Frame, representing the Chinese, pleaded for clemency on the grounds of Hughie's youth at the time the murder was committed, and Gee's illiteracy. Moreover, he gave the race issue still another twist. Mercy should be extended to the condemned pair, he argued, because of their lack of mental ability, the inferiority of their race, and the inherent inability of Chinese to distinguish between right and wrong.[55]

After all the various arguments were considered, the members of the board voted on the fates of the two convicted killers. In the case of Hughie Sing, Justices John A. Sanders and Benjamin W. Coleman voted in favor of commuting the sentence, as did Attorney General M. A. Diskin and Governor James G. Scrugham. Chief Justice Edward A. Ducker cast the lone dissenting vote. In Gee's case, however, all the members of the board except Justice Sanders voted against commutation. Hughie's youth and role as an accomplice were duly considered by the board, as was the fact that Gee did the actual shooting in the crime; and the reason why Justice Sanders voted for commutation of both sentences had to do with his general opposition to capital punishment.[56]

Reactions to the board's decision were immediate. Carson City's Chinatown rejoiced in the board's commutation of Hughie Sing's sentence. Firecrackers were lit, and banquets were the order of the day. At the state prison, Hughie was removed from his death watch cell, and put to work in the prison laundry.[57] Gee Jon was left to face death alone.

His lawyer, however, was still trying every legal device to stay his execution. On February 4, Frame asked the state supreme court for a writ of habeas corpus, on the ground that Gee Jon was insane. The court denied Frame's petition.[58]

At the prison, Warden Denver S. Dickerson requested a medical examination of Gee to dispel any doubts about his sanity. Dr John E. Pickard of Reno and Dr. Anthony Huffaker of Carson City, the prison physician, performed the examination and declared Gee sane.[59] The conclusions of the doctors, however, did not discourage Frame.

Failing to get action from the state supreme court, the attorney then appealed to the Ormsby County district court for an injunction to stay Gee's execution. He asserted that Warden Dickerson had not called for a full investigation and hearing into Gee's sanity as provided for by state law. Judge G. A. Ballard promptly denied Frame's petition for a writ of injunction.[60] Frame persevered.

On February 7, one day before the scheduled date of Gee Jon's execution, he went into the U.S. District Court in Carson Ctiy with an application for a writ of habeas corpus on the grounds that Gee was being denied due process of law on account of being insane, and that Warden Dickerson did not have the legal authority to pass judgment on Gee's sanity. Judge Edward S. Farrington denied the application, since Gee's case arose in a state court, and federal jurisdiction did not apply. After Farrington's decision, Frame appealed to Governor Scrugham in desperation. The governor, however, did not wish to give any further consideration to the matter of commuting Gee's sentence.[61] Frame had exhausted all legal possibilities. By the evening of February 7, he conceded defeat. Gee Jon was to be executed the following morning.

The condemned murderer was to be gassed to death. On the recommendation of state food and drug commissioner Sanford C. Dinsmore, hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas was chosen as the death dealing agent. At temperatures above 22°F, HCN is partially gaseous; below that point, it is a liquid. Because of its susceptibility to temperature changes, HCN could not be shipped by the California Cyanide Company from Los Angeles to Carson City via freight or express trains. Therefore, Warden Dickerson sent Tom Pickett, a prison employee, to Los Angeles. Accompanied by his wife, Pickett drove to southern California by truck, loaded several tanks of liquid HCN aboard the vehicle, and transported the cargo back to the Nevada State Prison.[62]

To make sure that HCN gas was effective for more than exterminating the San Jose scale (a parasite) from orange trees (the use to which the gas was most widely put in southern California), Nevada officials conducted several experiments before the day of Gee Jon's execution. They found that HCN gas effectively killed bedbugs.[63] Cats were also vulnerable. On the day before Gee's execution, one or two cats were gassed. According to the Chinese account published in San Francisco's *Chung Sai Yat Po*, "*i-chih lang-tang chih pai-se ta-mao*" ("a stray, white, large cat") was administered the gas to test its effect; and according to Reno's *Nevada State Journal*, two kittens were gassed in rehearsal for the Gee execution.[64]

The fateful day, February 8, 1924, finally came. The weather was cloudy, humid, and a cold 49°F in Carson City. Gee Jon arose that morning, and after fasting for ten days, decided to eat his last meal: ham, eggs, toast, and coffee. At 9:35 a.m., two guards escorted him the distance of forty yards from his cell to the gas chamber. He was strapped in the execution chair, and started to weep. At 9:40, four pounds of hydrocyanic acid were introduced into the chamber.[65]

Hydrocyanic acid becomes volatile at 75°F. But on the day of the execution, the temperature outside of the chamber was 49°F, and inside the chamber, a maximum temperature of only 52°F could be attained due to a malfunctioning electric heater. Thus HCN was present in the chamber as both gas in the air and a pool of potentially volatile liquid on the floor.[66]

Nevertheless, after five seconds of exposure to the gas, Gee appeared unconscious; his eyes remained open, and his head continued to move for six minutes. The condemned man ceased to move after 9:46. At ten o'clock, the chamber's ventilator gate was opened, and a suction fan was turned on. The chamber door was not opened until twelve o'clock noon.[67]

After the chamber was properly ventilated, Gee's body was carried out by the prison guard captain and a member of the state police force. It was placed in the prison hospital and examined by physicians with stethoscopes. Gee Jon was pronounced dead at 12:25 p.m. by the prison physician, Dr. Anthony Huffaker; Dr. Joseph B. Hardy of Reno; and Dr. Edward E. Hamer, Ormsby County physician.[68] One of the physicians, however, refused to believe that Gee was permanently dead!

Major Delos A. Turner, M.D., of the U.S. Veterans' Bureau in Reno, wanted to inject Gee's corpse with camphor. The injection supposedly would bring Gee back to life. Turner asked that he be allowed to conduct his experiment "in the interests of science." Warden Dickerson wisely refused permission.[69] Turner remained a skeptic. He recommended that all future bodies removed from the gas chamber be shot or hung to make sure of death being inflicted.[70]

But Gee Jon's body did not receive such treatment. Indeed, not even an autopsy was performed on it. The corpse was placed in a plain pine box without the services of an undertaker, and buried in the prison cemetery on a hill overlooking the institution.[71]

Gee Jon met his fate. He was the first man executed by lethal gas in the state of Nevada and in the United States.[72] Yet even after widespread press coverage of Gee's execution, public opinion was still divided over the questions of whether lethal gas was a cruel and unusual punishment, and whether all forms of capital punishment were actually deterrents to the commission of crimes. In California, an editorial in the *San Jose Mercury Herald* commented:

> One hundred years from now Nevada will be referred to as a heathen commonwealth controlled by savages with only the outward symbols of civilization.[73]

In Nevada, state prison Warden Dickerson believed that shooting was a more humane method of execution than lethal gas because death would be inflicted quicker on a condemned person. Others, like Major Delos Turner, disagreed with him.[74]

There was sufficient dissatisfaction with the state's 1921 lethal gas execution law for a movement to be started in the legislature to repeal it. Attempts were launched during the 1925 session, but the legislators refused to repeal the law despite pleas from both Governor Scrugham and Warden Dickerson.[75]. In 1926, the state executed its second convicted slayer through the use of lethal gas: Stanko Jukich, a Serbian from Ely. Few cries of protest were heard.[76]

In the years between 1924 and 1961, thirty-one individuals were executed by lethal gas at the Nevada State Prison.[77] Other states and the federal government followed Nevada's example by adopting the use of lethal gas as the means of executing persons convicted of first degree murder. As late as 1970, the following states also had laws authorizing the use of lethal gas in the implementation of the death penalty: Arizona, California, Colorado, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, and Wyoming.[78]

By the early years of the 1970s, however, there were many Americans who sought to eliminate or redefine the death penalty.[79] As late as January of 1972, eight criminals were under death sentences in Nevada, but none had been executed since 1961. At that time, the U.S. Supreme Court started to consider arguments against the death penalty in the case of ***Furman*** v. *Georgia*.[80]

The high court reached a decision later in the year. By a 5 to 4 vote, the court ruled that capital punishment as it had been imposed in the United States was in violation of the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Each of the nine Supreme Court justices wrote separate opinions. Capital punishment had not been uniformly applied for specific crimes, the court maintained. Judges and juries had been allowed too much discretion in the application of the death penalty. Selective application of the penalty was deemed humane, but nevertheless unconstitutional. The effect of the court's decision was to invalidate Nevada's capital punishment law and similar statutes in thirty-eight other states and the District of Columbia.[81]

However, the court's decision did not specifically rule out the possibility of imposing again the death penalty through the passage of new laws at the state level which would eliminate the elements of prejudice and chance.[82] Chief Justice Warren E. Burger offered the following opinion:

> The future of capital punishment in this country has been left in an

> uncertain limbo. Rather than providing a final and unambiguous answer on the basic constitutional question, the collective impact of the majority's ruling is to demand an undetermined measure of change from the various State legislatures and the Congress.[83]

Initial reaction to the Supreme Court ruling in Nevada was one of surprise. Attorney General Robert List called the action "an insult to Nevada, to its law and to its people."[84]

When the legislature met in 1973, capital punishment legislation was a serious topic of discussion. After one hundred days of deliberations,[85] the legislature passed a new law.

> relating to crimes and punishments; defining the offense of capital murder and providing a mandatory death penalty therefor; denying admission to bail for capital offenses; eliminating the death penalty for other crimes; and providing other matters properly relating thereto.[86]

The new law is now in effect. Its constitutionality will be tested in the future. Whether or not the lethal gas chamber at the Nevada State Prison will ever be used again remains to be seen. In 1924, the Silver State set an example for the nation by executing Gee Jon through the use of lethal gas. The influence of that action endures to the present, and will probably last as long as thinking men and women continue to pose questions about life, death, and justice.

NOTES

[1] *Young China (Shao-nien chung-kuo ch'en-pao*, San Francisco), 28 August 1921; *Chinese World* (*Shih-chieh, jih-pao*, San Francisco), 29 August 1921; *Chung Sai Yat Po* (*Chung-hsi, jih-pao*, San Francisco), 29 August 1921; *Nevada State Journal*, 29 August 1921, 8 February 1924; *Walker Lake Bulletin*, 3 September 1921; "Transcript of Preliminary Examination," *State of Nevada* v. *Gee Jon and Hughie Sing*, Justice Court of Mina Township, Mineral County, Nev., 9 September 1921, pp. 5, 19-20, 22, 28, 30, 39, located in criminal case file No. 56, District Court Clerk, Mineral County, Hawthorne, Nev.

[2] For explanations about the origins of the tongs, consult John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973), pp. 467-468; Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 170-171; Him Mark Lai and Philip P. Choy, *Outlines: History of the Chinese in America* (San Francisco: Chinese-American Studies Planning Group, 1973), pp. 123-125; Stanford M. Lyman, *The Asian in the West*, Social Science and Humanities Publication, No. 4 (Reno and Las Vegas: Desert Research Institute, University of Nevada System, 1970), pp. 33-46; and Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold: The Story of the Chinese in America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 137-138.

[3] Gilbert G. Weigle, "Youth's Love of Slave Girl Starts Death," *San Francisco Examiner*, 28 August 1921. This article is valuable because it describes San Francisco's tongs as being divided into two opposing sides, and touches upon the generally supposed reason for the outbreak of hostilities. Other aspects of the article describing Chinese life in California, however, tend to be fanciful. Also consult the reminiscences of Lew Wah Get, an officer of the Suey Sing Tong, in Victor G. Nee and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), pp. 80-83.

[4] *Young China*, 28 August 1921; *Chinese World*, 29 August 1921; *Chung Sai Yat Po*, 29 August 1921; *San Francisco Examiner*, 29 August 1921. Tong violence had been going on in the San Francisco Bay area throughout that week. See the *Daily Palo Alto Times*, 23-24

August 1921; *San Jose Mercury Herald*, 23-25 August 1921; *San Francisco Examiner*, 23 August 1921; *Chinese World*, 23-24 August 1921; and *Chung Sai Yat Po*, 23 August 1921.

[5] *San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 August 1921; *San Jose Mercury Herald*, 28, 30 August 1921; *Sacramento Bee*, 29 August 1921.

[6] *Young China*, 1 September 1921.

[7] Ibid., 4 September 1921; *Chinese World*, 5-6 September 1921.

[8] "Transcript of Preliminary Examination," p. 40.

[9] Ibid., pp. 15, 17; Nevada, Supreme Court, *Nevada Reports* 46 (1922-1923): 425-426; *Nevada State Journal*, 29 August 1921, 8 February 1924. For a totally inaccurate account of their arrest, see Myrtle Tate Myles, *Nevada's Governors: From Territorial Days to the Present, 1861-1971* (Sparks, Nev.: Western Printing and Publishing Company, 1972), p. 255.

[10] Confidential files No. 2320 and 2321, Nevada State Prison, Carson City (hereafter referred to as NSP-2320 and NSP-2321).

[11] Nevada, Seventh Judicial District Court, County of Mineral, *State of Nevada* v. *Gee Jon and Hughie Sing*, trial transcript, 28-30 November, 1-3 December 1921, pp. 212-214, NSP-2321; *Reno Evening Gazette*, 7 February 1924.

[12] NSP-2321.

[13] *Chinese World*, 29 August 1921; *Nevada State Journal*, 31 August 1921.

[14] Nevada, Supreme Court, *Nevada Reports* 46 (1922-1923): 427-428.

[15] *Sacramento Bee*, 29 August 1921; *Nevada State Journal*, 8 February 1924; "Transcript of Preliminary Examination," pp. 28, 30.

[16] "Transcript of Preliminary Examination," p. 71; *Nevada State Journal*, 2 September 1921; *Walker Lake Bulletin*, 3 September 1921.

[17] *Nevada State Journal*, 2 September 1921.

[18] "Transcript of Preliminary Examination," pp. 1, 72.

[19] Nevada, Seventh Judicial District Court, County of Mineral, *State of Nevada* v. *Gee Jon and Hughie Sing*, trial transcript, 28-30 November, 1-3 December 1921, pp. 211-212, 225-228, NSP-2321.

[20] *Nevada State Journal*, 8 February 1924.

[21] "Transcript of Preliminary Examination," pp. 14-15, 17; *Nevada State Journal*, 30-31 August 1921, 8 February 1924; *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 25 January 1924.

[22] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 5 December 1921; Nevada, *Revised Laws* 2 (1912): sec. 6386, p. 1832.

[23] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 26 January 1922; Nevada, *Nevada Statutes* (1921): ch. 246, p. 387; Nevada, Legislature, Assembly, *Journal of the Assembly*, 30th sess. (1921): 247, 301, 314; Nevada, Legislature, Senate, *Journal of the Senate*, 30th sess. (1921): 255, 257, 262, 272; *Nevada State Journal*, 29 March, 8 December 1921; Arnold Kruckman, "Will Use Lethal Gas on Convicts," *Pioche Record*, 19 August 1921.

For general histories of capital punishment, see George Ryley Scott, *The History of Capital Punishment* (London: Torchstream Books, 1950) and John Laurence, *A History of Capital Punishment* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971). A dispassionate professional interpretation of the 1921 Nevada law is Raymond Hartman, "The Use of Lethal Gas in Nevada Executions," *St. Louis Law Review* 8 (April 1923): 164-168.

There are two different and opposite interpretations of Governor Boyle's motives in signing the lethal gas execution bill: Kruckman, *Pioche Record*, 19 August 1921; and Hugo Adam Bedau, ed., *The Death Penalty in America: An Anthology*, rev. ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), p. 18.

Several general works dealing with Nevada history and government mention the Gee Jon case, but only in a cursory fashion: Richard G. Lillard, *Desert Challenge: An Intrepretation of Nevada* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1942), pp. 39-40; Effie Mona Mack, Idel Anderson, and Beulah E. Singleton, *Nevada Government* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1953), p. 167; and Effie Mona Mack and Byrd Wall Sawyer, *Here Is Nevada: A History of the State* (Sparks, Nev.: Western Printing and Publishing Company, 1965), p. 173.

Incorrect dates are given in James G. Scrugham, ed., *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land*, 3 vols. (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1935), 1:549, n. 5; and Myles, *Nevada's Governors*, p. 255.

Probably the most fabricated, romantic, and factually inaccurate account is George V.

Bishop, *Executions: The Legal Ways of Death* (Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, Inc., 1965), pp. 160-163.

[24] *Walter Lake Bulletin*, 16 June 1923; *Nevada State Journal*, 8 February 1924.

[25] James G. Scrugham to J. W. Kime, 9 April 1924, NSP-2320.

[26] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 28 February 1922; Copeland C. Burg, "Fight on to Repeal Gas Death Law," *San Francisco Call and Post*, 9 February 1924; *Nevada State Journal*, 9 February 1924; Scrugham to Kime, 9 April 1924, NSP-2320; Nevada, Legislature, Assembly, *Journal of the Assembly*, 30th sess. (1921): 247; Nevada, *Nevada Statutes* (1921): ch. 246, p. 387.

[27] *Las Vegas Age*, 19 March 1921; *Pioche Record*, 25 March 1921; *Nevada State Journal*, 29 March 1921; *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 6 January 1923; *Reno Evening Gazette*, 18 January 1924.

[28] Nevada, Legislature, Assembly, *Journal of the Assembly*, 30th sess. (1921): 247, 301, 314; Nevada, Legislature, Senate, *Journal of the Senate*, 30th sess. (1921): 255, 257, 262, 272.

[29] Nevada, *Nevada Statutes* (1921): ch. 246, p. 387.

[30] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 29 March 1921.

[31] Ibid., 26 January 1922; Nevada, *Revised Laws* 2 (1912): sec. 7286, p. 2041.

[32] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 27 January 1922.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., 27 February 1922.

[35] Nevada, Supreme Court, *Nevada Reports* 46 (1922-1923): 419-420, 422-424, 435-438; Nevada, Supreme Court, Clerk, *Biennial Report*, 1923-1924, p. 11.

[36] *Nevada State Journal*, 6 July 1923.

[37] Ibid., 28 July 1923; *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 9, 27 July 1923; Nevada, Attorney General, *Biennial Report*, 1923-1924, p. 196.

[38] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 27 July, 14, 20-21, 31 August 1923; *Nevada State Journal*, 21 August 1923; Nevada, Supreme Court, Clerk, *Biennial Report, 1923-1924*, p. 12.

[39] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 5, 29 September 1923; William Kennett to James M. Frame and Fiore Raffetto, 11 September 1923, case file No. 2547, Nevada Supreme Court Clerk, Carson City (hereafter referred to as NSC-2547).

[40] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 11 September 1923.

[41] William Kennett to Jay H. White, 27 December 1923, NSC-2547.

[42] *Gardnerville Record-Courier*, 11 January 1924.

[43] Christen Jensen, *The Pardoning Power in the American States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 71.

[44] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 22 January 1924; *Gardenerville Record-Courier*, 25 January 1924.

[45] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 16 January 1924.

[46] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 22 January 1924.

[47] Ibid.

[48] *Walker Lake Bulletin*, 12 January 1924.

[49] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 11 January 1924.

[50] Ibid., 22 January 1924; *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 24 January 1924; *Nevada State Journal*, 25 January 1924.

[51] *Nevada State Journal*, 24 January 1924.

[52] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 23 January 1924.

[53] *Fallon Standard*, 16 January 1924.

[54] *Tonopah Daily Times*, 26 January 1924.

[55] *Carson City Daily Appeal* 25 January 1924.

[56] Ibid., 26 January 1924; *Nevada State Journal*, 27 January 1924; *Young China*, 28 January 1924. In addition to Hughie Sing's sentence, the state board of pardons and parole commissioners acted on those of three other Chinese during the 1923-1924 period. Paroles were granted to Lee Sing, convicted of first degree burglary; Yee Toy, convicted of first degree murder; and Chin Gim, convicted of narcotics possession. Nevada, Governor, *Message of Gov. James G. Scrugham to the Legislature of 1925*, 32d sess., pp. 37-38.

[57] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 28 January 1924.

After commutation of his sentence, Hughie Sing was incarcerated at the Nevada State Prison until he was paroled in 1938. As an inmate, his general conduct was described as "very good." Between 1930 and 1938 he made fifteen applications for parole. All of them were denied except for the last one. Governor Richard Kirman and other members of the board of parole commissioners finally approved of Hughie's petition.

In his applications, Hughie indicated his desire to go to China with his aged mother, where they would live the remainder of their days. By 1938, however, China and Japan were at war, and even the exertions of Senator Patrick A. McCarran's secretary in Washington could not convince the Department of State to issue Hughie a passport. He had to be content with staying in the United States, but a special condition of his parole was that he leave Nevada and never return.

Following his release, Hughie traveled to San Francisco's Chinatown, where he stayed at the Gum Mon Hotel (*Chin-men lü-kuan*) on Grant Avenue. Then, he went southwards to join his family in Los Angeles. By 1940 he was working as a waiter in a Chinese cafe in Los Angeles. NSP-2321.

[58] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 4-5 February 1924.

[59] Ibid., 5 February 1924; *Young China*, 6 February 1924.

[60] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 6-7 February 1924; *Young China*, 7 February 1924.

[61] *Nevada State Journal*, 8 February 1924.

[62] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 15, 28 January 1924; *San Francisco Call and Post*, 22 January 1924; *Reno Evening Gazette*, 26 January, 5 February 1924; *Pioche Record*, 1 February 1924; *Las Vegas Age*, 2 February 1924.

[63] *Las Vegas Age*, 2 February 1924.

[64] *Chung Sai Yat Po*, 8 February 1924; *Nevada State Journal*, 8 February 1924.

[65] Delos A. Turner to Chief of Chemical Warfare Service, U.S. War Department, February 1924, NSP-2320; *Young China*, 9 February 1924; *Nevada State Journal*, 9 February 1924; *San Jose Mercury Herald*, 9 February 1924; *New York Times*, 9 February 1924.

[66] Nevada, State Prison, Warden, *Biennial Report, 1923-1924* p. 4.

[67] Turner to Chief of Chemical Warfare Service, February 1924, NSP-2320.

[68] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 8 February 1924; *San Francisco Examiner*, 9 February 1924; *San Jose Mercury Herald*, 9 February 1924.

[69] *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9-10 February 1924.

[70] Turner to Chief of Chemical Warfare Service, February 1924, NSP-2320.

[71] *Reno Evening Gazette*, 8 February 1924; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 February 1924; *Gardnerville Record-Courier*, 15 February 1924.

[72] *Young China*, 5 February 1924; *New York Times*, 8 February 1924; *Literary Digest*, 1 March 1924.

[73] *San Jose Mercury Herald*, 9 February 1924.

[74] Nevada, State Prison, Warden, *Biennial Report, 1923-1924*, p. 4; *Literary Digest*, 1 March 1924.

[75] *San Francisco Call and Post*, 9 February 1924; L. C. Owen, "Lethal Gas Law Holds in Nevada," *New York Evening World*, 9 April 1925.

[76] *Carson City Daily Appeal*, 21 May 1926; Lillard, *Desert Challenge*, pp 39-40. The account in Scrugham, *Nevada: A Narrative of the Conquest of a Frontier Land*, 1:549, n. 5, incorrectly states that the Jukich execution was the first in which lethal gas was used.

[77] Bob Smith, "Young Slayer Smiles, Winks at Execution," *Nevada State Journal*, 24 August 1961.

[78] Luman H. Long, ed., *World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1971* (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1970), p. 79.

[79] Consult Bedau, *Death Penalty in America;* Eugene B. Block, *And May God Have Mercy . . . : The Case Against Capital Punishment* (San Francisco: Fearon Publishers, 1962); James Avery Joyce, *Capital Punishment: A World View* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961); James A. McCafferty, ed., *Capital Punishment* (Chicago and New York: Aldine-Atherton, Inc., 1972); and Thorsten Sellin, ed., *Capital Punishment* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967).

[80] José M. Ferrer, III, "The Death Penalty: Cruel and Unusual?", *Time*, 24 January 1972; *U.S. News and World Report*, 31 January 1972; KLVX, "A Deadly Dilemma," videotape, Las Vegas, Nev., August 1973.

[81] *Newsweek*, 10 July 1972; *Time*, 10 July 1972; *U.S. News and World Report*, 10 July 1972.

[82] *Newsweek*, 18 December 1972.

[83] *U.S. News and World Report*, 4 December 1972.

[84] Ibid., 10 July 1972. During the early years of the 1960s, there were attempts in Nevada to change the state's capital punishment law, and to give the governor sole power to commute death sentences. The efforts were not successful. See Lester D. Summerfield, "For the Death Penalty," *Nevada State Bar Journal* 25 (July 1960): 105-118; Charles F. Springer, "Against the Death Penalty," *Nevada State Bar Journal* 25 (October 1960): 210-215; and Joe Digles, "Sawyer's Plan: Execution Law Change Sought," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 24 August 1961.

[85] KLVX, "A Deadly Dilemma."

[86] Nevada, *Nevada Statutes* 2 (1973): ch. 798, pp. 1801-1807.

Comment: Elizabeth Lee Abbott, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

#6 – AUDIOVISUAL RESOURCES AND CHINESE-AMERICAN HISTORY

Chairwoman: Connie Young Yu, *Los Altos Hills, California*

THE CHINESE IN HAWAII

A Slide Presentation by

By

Irma Tam Soong

The Hawaii Chinese History Center (HCHC) was established about four and a half years ago to gather the history of the early Chinese in Hawaii by tape recording all the old Chinese we could interview. It wasn't long before we realized that we could not do an effective job without first gathering all the publications, documents, photographs, and other archival material necessary for an oral history program.

A very simple way to begin, we found, was to ask for family photographs, to get each person in the photograph identified, and to work from there on genealogy, family history, and the achievements or contributions of the Chinese about which they had most information.

As an example, take my own family history.

1. Here is an old photograph of my grandfather, with my grandmother, my father, his brother, and two sisters taken in the early 1900's. Notice the queue wound around his head and my grandmother's bound feet.

2. I found this precious painting of his store, Yee Sing Nam Kee, in an old trunk under our house. It was located on the corner of Maunakea and Pauahi Streets. Pasted on the huge flagpole were notices of important events and pages of the daily Chinese newspaper that some literate person could read aloud for the illiterate to hear. At the corner of the store was an open-air butcher shop. The store sold rice, salt fish, firecrackers, dried shrimps, and

other groceries. Next door was Chinn Ho's father's grocery store. My grandparents lived upstairs.

3. My grandfather celebrated his 61st birthday in our home in Kaimuki. He is standing next to a table of goodies. Behind him and on the walls are congratulations and good wishes in beautiful calligraphy given by his friends.

4. Grandfather took a picture in front of our house with all his children and their spouses and his grandchildren. My grandmother was dead by then.

5. This two-story home in our native village of Ngai How in Chungshan District, Kwangtung Province, was built by my grandfather when he was financially able to do so.

6. The main hall. Notice the altar table, the altar to the ancestors in the niche above, and the flight of steps to the second floor.

7. My father, when he graduated from Oahu College, now Punahou Academy. It was through the help of American missionaries that he received an American education.

8. The Chinese Students' Alliance, of which my father was a founder, put a dramatic performance to raise funds for a service project.

9. Officers and directors of the United Chinese Society in 1934 when they celebrated their 50th anniversary. My father was treasurer.

10. It was a great surprise to me to find that my mother, surnamed Sun, was related to Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, Father of the Chinese Revolution. My aunt in Kowloon gave me this photograph showing Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, his daughter, and Soong Ching-ling (then his secretary) with his Sun relatives in the village of Tso Pu Tou, my mother's village, to celebrate Ching Ming at the Sun ancestral grave.

Hawaii's State archives has still the best collection of old photographs of the Chinese in Hawaii.

11. Chinese laborers on a sailing vessel. Note the laborer with a queue wound around his head.

12. Lunas or supervisors on horses on a sugar plantation.

13. Farmer with buffalo plowing a rice paddy.

14. A vegetable farm.

15. A Chinese pounding poi in true Hawaiian style.

16. A duck farm with Diamond Head in the background.

17. A farmhouse near a stream.

18. A pack train on the way up to the Pali, a steep mountain pass.

19. A vegetable farmer carrying two baskets suspended on a pole.

20. Another farmer with produce to sell.

21. Still another farmer from Makapuu, traveling ten miles to sell his vegetables.

22. A letter writer.

23. A shoe repairman.

24. C. Q. Yee Hop Store in the 1900's showing off its National cash register.

25. Lee Toma's cigar store. He was a founder of Dr. Sun's first revolutionary society.

26. A jewelry store.

27. Produce stalls.

Here are some pictures of Chinatown probably before the Chinatown fire of 1900.

28-33. Buildings, most of them two-story. Notice hacks and carts.

34. Furniture being moved out in preparation for burning of an area.

35. The fire hose in action.

36. Kaumakapili Church which was destroyed when the wind shifted and caused the great Chinatown fire of 1900.

The State Archives is the best source of documents on the history of the Chinese in Hawaii. Here are samplings.

37. Form of contract passage ticket of a laborer. In English.

38. A memorandum of agreement, also in English.

39. The same in Chinese.

40. A statement regarding the character and other data on immigrants assigned to Francis Spencer. One was a suicide. The comment below explains the cause of the suicide and rates most of the laborers as first rate.

41. List of Chinese laborers to be landed from a vessel July 1865. Note that some are skilled: "carpenter, tailor, cook."

42. A letter from a Mr. Chong to his father-in-law.

43. An act to regulate Chinese immigration by the King and the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

44. A petition to the Trustees of the Chinese United Society and the Immigration Company for help in alleviating their troubles at the Paahau Sugar Plantation.

One of the ways to preserve historical material is to preserve old historic sites. Our HCHC task force is composed mostly of young adults who have gone on summer trips to the neighbor islands to take pictures, gather oral information and to make rubbings of gravestone inscriptions or to copy them.

45. This grave of a Mr. Chou from Sun On is on the grounds of a Hawaiian church in Kula, Maui.

46. The Ket Hing Society building in Kula was the headquarters of one of many secret societies scattered throughout the islands. Downstairs is a hall for New Year celebrations, parties, or a school.

47. Upstairs is the temple where the society's rites were held. Kwan Ti, the God of War, is the patron god of the Hung Men societies. The three men are trustees of the society.

48. Side view of the building with a very old structure in left foreground.

49. This old building is the only one of its kind in the Islands: it is divided into a gambling room, an opium-smoking room, and a kitchen where the

cooking is done for Ching Ming and Chinese New Year celebrations.

50. Close-up of the opium-smoking room and the gambling room.

51. The two-wok stove in the kitchen. Rice was cooked in these woks.

52. HCHC's young adults surveying the cemetery in Kula, Maui, and making gravestone rubbings.

53. Above the cemetery are some old buildings: the schoolhouse, the worship room, the schoolmaster's dwelling.

54. This is a gravestone to remember all the departed Chinese in Kula, Maui, whether they are known or unknown. Offerings are made to them at the Ching Ming Festival.

55. One of many different types of graves in the Fook On Tong Cemetery in Kula, Maui.

Many of Hawaii's early Chinese were either followers of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, Father of the Chinese Revolution, or his relatives or his friends. HCHC, in cooperation with the Consulate General of the Republic of China and Iolani School, has started a Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in Hawaii Bicentennial Project in order to arouse interest in Dr. Sun's five visits to Hawaii and to gather what little information there is left of Hawaii's involvement in the Revolution.

56. Portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen.

57. The Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum in Nanking today, one of the architectural wonders of China.

58. Dr. Sun's parents.

59. His parents and all the members of the Sun family.

60. A page from C. K. Ai's *My Seventy-Nine Years in Hawaii,* which recounts his schooldays in Iolani. Dr. Sun enrolled there at the age of 13, supported by his brother Sun Mi, who was later to own a large ranch in Kula, Maui.

61. Map of Chungshan District, showing location of Tsui Heng, the birthplace of Dr. Sun.

62. Map of Kwangtung showing relation of Chungshan to Macau, Hong kong, and Canton.

63. A page from Dr. Sun's autobiography, showing that he did go to both Iolani School and to Oahu College (which is Punahou Academy today).

64. Rear view of Sun Mi's ranch in Kula, Maui, where a study for Dr. Sun was built by Sun Mi.

65. Artifacts dug up near the kitchen area by HCHC's task force.

66. Willie Fong of Kula, Maui, our chief resource person for Kula Chinese history.

67. Our young adults digging for artifacts.

68. A view of the ranch from the main road. It is owned by Richard Baldwin and is called the Haleakala Ranch. HCHC hopes that a plaque or monument will be erected on the roadside overlooking the ranch as part of our Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in Hawaii Bicentennial Project.

While many projects are crying for our attention, one of the most pressing is to record what is left of Chinatown as it is today before redevelopment programs change its face completely.

69. Oahu Market on the corner of King and Kehaulike Streets. This open-air market is very popular but does not meet Department of Health standards.

70. A butcher's stall and Chinese women customers.

71. This modern market replaces an open-air one that simply toppled from age. It did not attact customers in the beginning but is doing better now.

72. The Maunakea Street side of the C. Q. Yee Hop Building which extends from the market past two restaurants to the Bank of Hawaii. HCHC has an office on the fourth floor.

73. A Chinese grocery store on Maunakea Street, the Dupont Gai of Honolulu.

74. Another view of this store.

75. The Third Arm, a project of University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies Program students of all races to come to the aid of the elderly in Chinatown. It is doing a great job.

76. An herbalist's store.

77. Old two-story building much like those in existence after the Chinatown fire of 1900.

78. The Liberty Theater where once Chinese operas were performed nightly.

79. The Japanese Kokusai Theater, which is today the Express Theater, a Chinese-owned enterprise showing Chinese films exclusively.

80. Across the street from the theater is this empty lot upon which a high-rise is already coming up. Soon it will hide the beautiful mountains in the background.

The situation speaks for itself.

SEATTLE'S CHINATOWN

A Film Presentation By

Bettie Kan

I am very honored to have the privilege to present to this conference a film that was made in Seattle and produced through the Wing Luke Museum. Some of you have heard the song by Perry Como called "The Bluest Skies You Ever Saw Are In Seattle." Well, I didn't believe it when I was *there*, but after landing in San Francisco I'm beginning to wonder. (It rained all week in San Francisco.)

The Wing Luke Museum is kind of a miniaturized version of the Chinese Historical Society that you have here. It was named after a dynamic politician who was the first Chinese-American elected to public office here on the west coast.

We are fewer hands and pocketbooks in Seattle but we have some very talented members in the Chinese community. Theresa Woo was a fifth year art student when she started the project on this film about two years ago. She is the daughter of the architect who designed the Wing Luke Museum, and helped assemble an exhibit which was entitled "The Chinese Pioneers of Seattle." As an extension of that exhibit, Theresa developed, researched, photographed, produced, wrote, recorded voices, music, developed a sound track and assembled the entire project. I helped develop it with the writing, the narrating, and Philip Choy of your Chinese Historical Society was one of our technical advisors. At the time this project was launched we did not know that exotic money language called "grant-ton-ese." So without grant money or know-how, the Wing Luke Museum paid some bare bones supply money, the U.W. Asian-American Studies donated a $100, and Theresa dug into her own education trust fund. And then she supplied the sweat, love, and tears that went into it. We really operated on a shoe string budget but I think her product was quite professional. The film tells more than the story of the Chinese in Seattle. It is representative of the *Every-Chinese-American* story. And that's the idea which really excites me. Because the story of the Chinese-American here in this country is a story which should be told. And I feel that it is about time that we Chinese-Americans stop being the "silent and invisible Oriental" and become the *assertive* Asian American. Go back and listen to our elders and listen, really listen. Go back and research the Chinese language sources and listen to the drum beats that talks about a return to ethnic pride, that talks about making peace with your roots. We have to go back and find out this information and tell it to the media and put in the schools. All the information that I gain myself through this conference, I intend to take back and implement as much as possible in the Seattle schools system. Now this kind of information is really relevant to this day and time with the influx of the new immigrants. We've got to tell the old story and the new story. Some of you are aware of the Black American history studies that are on national television. The Native Americans have just completed a ten part series telling their story. And it's time *we* started to move on a national level and tell the Asian American story and putting it in proper perspective: *when* and *where* it occurred, with the rest of American history. I'd like to say a whole lot more on that subject but right now, I'll let the film talk for me.

Now just for technicalities. There are a couple spots in the film where it kind of blacks out — but don't worry about that. We attempted to do that as kind of a transition and we're not too happy with it. But we are happy with the film as a whole. So this is our film "Gim Saan."

FILM SCRIPT:

GIM SAAN, Seattle's Chinatown, produced by the Wing Luke Memorial Museum.

Filmed, produced, edited by Theresa Woo.

Narrator: Bettie Kan.

In the Cantonese vernacular, America was Gim Saan, literally, the mountain of gold. Most of the early pioneers came from Kwangtung Province near the city of Canton.

The trickle of enterprising men who braved the long voyage across the Pacific swelled to thousands as the demand grew for their labor. They worked on the railroads, in the mines, in the fields, in the kitchens and wash houses of the west. Here they sought fortune, but so did those companies who employed their cheap labor. "John" as the Chinese one and all were called, found nothing but backbreaking work and low wages in this land of gold.

In the 1860's, Seattle was a rough, frontier town, barely ten years old. She grew rapidly from shipping, lumber and railroad influences.

The completion of the railroad led to the boom of the west. Of those who built the railroad, 90% were Chinese.

After the last tracks were laid and the golden spike was driven, thousands of workers poured into the city seeking other jobs, of which there were few. The hard working Chinese who naturally accepted *any* job and *any* wage, drew immediate resentment. Seattle fell into one of her sporadic depressions and the Chinese were blamed. Tensions increased and the Knights of Labor began planning anti-Chinese meetings. One of Seattle's newspapers spoke of the Chinese as the "two-bit conscious of the scurvy opium fiend, the treacherous almond eyed sons of Confucious, those yellow mouth lepers."

The call "All Chinamen *out*" echoed throughout the town. The threat of civil disorder compelled city officials to ask the Chinese to leave. Helpless to resist, the Chinese complied.

When this was heard of, a kind of victory meeting was called by the labor class. Guest speaker Judge Thomas Burke took the stand. Thought to be an ally, he spoke as an Irishman to his Irish countrymen in the crowd; the main body of the labor class.

"If the Irishman is true to his countrymen, he will not deprive anyone—

not even the defenseless Chinamen – of those laws which found the Irishman a serf and made him a free man."

The crowd was furious. They booed and hissed as he walked from the stage.

The next morning, an angry mob moved into the Chinese quarters.

(Lung Sing Luke) and (Bettie Luke Kan)

Chinese words:

our narration . . .

"He's talking about the time . . . "

When news of this assault reached the authorities, Sheriff McGraw called the guards and Deputy Marshall Henry read the riot act. (Jim read.)

Meanwhile, some 350 Chinese had been herded down to the docks and were being led up the planks to the steamer ship Queen of the Pacific.

Suddenly, a man dashed through the crowd and handed to Captain Alexander an order to appear the next day in court with his passengers.

The Chinese were put into a warehouse on the dock for the night under protection of armed guard.

Next morning the Chinese *again* expressed a desire to leave the city; the angry crown outside the courthouse helped to influence their decision. So it was back down to the docks. The mob was relieved to finally see the Chinese board the ship. When the legal passenger limit of 196 was reached, the remaining Chinese had to be escorted back to their homes to await the next ship. Not knowing the reason for their return, the crown reacted with betrayed vengeance. Rushing forward, someone yelled:

"Where are you taking all of those Chinamen?"

The Chinese fell to the ground with their bundles. (Shooting sounds, physical fighting.)

When the shooting stopped, five men lay wounded, one fatally.

(Jim)–(Fades into darkness – echo chamber sound)– Seventeen men were indicted on charges of conspiracy to deprive the Chinese of their rights. The jury decided in 10 minutes they were not guilty. (Gavel.)

< Fade In.

Those who stayed or returned a few years later found education the key to escape from the drudgery which had been their lot.

Chin Wing Shing spent most of his life in low pay jobs, but his children were to set landmarks of educational achievement.

Lew King who served as interpreter in the Supreme Court sent his son Lew Kay to the University of Washington. In 1900 he became the first Chinese to earn a degree in Engineering.

Goon Dip who was appointed Chinese Consul for the State of Washington sought to bring Chinese students into American universities.

In China, the merchant was not very high on the social scale. But in *America*, the Chinese merchant had the most powerful and influential position in Chinatown. His shop was the center for supplies, labor contracting, correspondence and communications.

Chin Ching Hock was one of the earliest merchants. He combined a shrewd intelligence with a gambler's instinct and hard work. His base of operation was the Wa Chong Co.

An early immigrant, *Woo Bak Gen,* became a partner in the Wa Chong Co. His success enabled him to return to China to marry and bring back a wife to this savage, uncertain land.

Another pioneer was an energetic little man named *Chin Gee Hee.* He worked on the placer tracks and fields of California before settling in Seattle to found the Qung Truck Co. In 1909 he gathered his American found knowledge and returned to China to win international renown as the first railroad builder of Southern China.

Other pioneers sought to improve relations outside of the Chinese Community. Ah King in 1909 opend the Chinese Village, a popular attraction in the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition.

Chinatown was a home away from home in this foreign land.

Food was prepared in the Chinese kitchen. The Chinese regarded western concoctions with suspicion and distrust. Their own herbal medicines were preferred.

Some were avid smokers. They owned all of the paraphernalia necessary.

These shoes were a Chinese development of women's vanity. Beautiful and impractical.

No occasion was more glorious than the New Year celebration. The streets came alive with lion dances and firecrackers. Children paraded in new clothes. Debts and disputes were settled and homage was paid to the Gods in hopes to start the New Year with a clean slate.

One could attend the splendid Chinese opera or place bets in the popular lotteries.

Fade Out <.

< Fade In.

Slowly, tradition gave way to change as generations of Chinese sought to adapt to life in America. Yet today, the struggle continues – a struggle to create a blend, a balance, a harmony of cultures.

Chinatown today is more than a tourist attraction. It is an alive community struggling to deal with community problems.

Comment: The Audience

3:00- 3:15 p.m. Break.

3:15- 4:15 p.m.

CHINESE-AMERICANS IN POLITICS – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

By

ANNA CHENNAULT

Dr. Chinn, all the distinguished guests, friends, and all the distinguished scholars, I'm humbly honored to speak before so many scholars and appreciate the invitation of my good friend, Dr. Chinn, to share with you some of our experience and ideas on this very special occasion.

I realize we are a little bit behind schedule, therefore, I will not deliver a long speech. If time permits after my talk we might have a question and answer period – about 10 minutes.

When I accepted this invitation, I gave some thought about the East-West culture. History reflects the past and guides us in the future.

When I look around this room, I recognize many familiar faces, many of my friends and I thank you for coming. You represent different associations, organizations and I'd like to take this opportunity to congratulate you for the excellent assistance you have been giving to us the minorities and to wish you continued success in this very difficult challenge of tomorrow.

I was talking to Dr. Chinn and others just before the meeting. I am disappointed and assume you share my disappointment that this kind of seminar arranged by the Chinese seldom receive the financial funding and assistance from other institutions. It is this kind of discrimination we have to work to correct and hopefully some day our voice will be heard.

At this very special meeting, let me share with you some of my thoughts and experience as a minority. One of our problems today in this very complicated world is this – we cannot continue to live within our own isolated cubbyhole. The Chinese-American organizations have not been getting any kind of support because we have no political muscle. Each one of us comes to this land bringing with us our own heritage. Let us be proud of our heritage. In order to be proud of our heritage we have to know something of our own culture. The combined heritage of different people is one of the elements to give strength to this great nation of America.

I'm proud to speak as a representative of Chinese-Americans. We are truly the minority of the minorities for the Chinese-Americans represent less than 1% of the American population. Therefore for the Chinese-American who wishes to be recognized as first-class citizens of this country, just doing a first class performance is not enough. We need first class unity and cooperation among ourselves. We Chinese have a saying that we are like a handful of sand loosely divided. We have too many chiefs – no Indians. Everybody wants to be the leader. If we were united, we could all be leaders. But before that happens, we all need to work a little bit harder and be willing to sacrifice in order to promote and improve the Chinese-American position in this country.

It has been a long journey for all of us and we share the same frustrations and disappointments. This afternoon we particularly want to pay tribute to the unsung men and women who diligently and positively have overcome the prejudice and problems placed before them with dignity, compassion, dedication and hard work. Unfortunately, this group of dedicated Chinese-Americans represent a very small number. In the past decade most of the Chinese-Americans in this country preferred not to be involved or they were afraid to be involved in politics or other social movements. I'm encouraged to see in these past few years some significant change taking place. In the mid 70s I'm sure many of us Chinese-Americans are no longer content to sit back and let others arrange our future and affairs. The changing world demands that we take a positive approach, not a negative attitude. More realistically we recognize that if we want changes, we must seek to involve responsible people to build strong leadership in order to meet the ever changing social environment of today and tomorrow. We take this opportunity to salute and support our dedicated Chinese-American leaders. At the same time, encourage total involvement of other Chinese-Americans in all communities to come forward to take on their share of obligations and responsibility to improve the opportunities of the Chinese-Americans in this country. We must and we demand total involvement of every Chinese-American.

It is not that we lack talent. It is not that we lack knowledge. It is not that we lack good will. But for some time we have suffered from too much apathy and disconcern and disagreement and division. Let me ask those of you working in the academic field in the past. How many times you worked on certain projects and somebody else got the promotion. And I'm speaking from experience. Don't think because I am Mrs. Chennault I get special treatment. In this cold world of industry I have to work very hard too. So today I think that we are not asking for special treatment, we are asking equal opportunity. The modern Chinese-American should not be satisified just serving chop suey, egg roll, in the carry-out. I'm sure many of us are tired of working, washing other people's laundry. This is certainly no offense to those who operate restaurants or laundries, but it is important to recognize that the Chinese-American in this country prefer social justice. We are not asking for social charity. We want equal opportunity, not second class citizenship. We are not black, we are not white, but I dare them to call me yellow. I'm sure these talented people with their rich culture can increase their contribution to this country. Even more once their ability and their knowledge are fully recognized and channels of opportunities are justifiably provided.

I would like to re-emphasize that we must have total involvement and participation from all of the Chinese communities. To begin our bicentennial, our first priority is to seek equal opportunity for all the minorities. I serve on the committee of the ethnic group of the bicentennial also. Some minority groups prefer to demonstrate and protest but we Chinese are more peaceful people. We prefer to work quietly and wait for recognition. Maybe we have not been forceful. The one problem or shall I call it an issue that I have discovered among the Chinese-Americans is this – that we have many small groups and they are not coordinated with each other. The important issue is how to organize all these small groups in different cities and make them realize that we must work together and help each other. Americans with Chinese heritage therefore try to preserve our heritage and trying to improve the Chinese-American position in this country should be our first responsibility and priority. I'm sure that all Chinese-Americans of today are ready to come out from their forced isolation and end the years of painful discrimination and neglect. Let us remember our great-grandparents, grandparents and parents who worked hard in this country in order to send us to colleges so that we would have a good education. Now don't be ashamed of your heritage and don't be ashamed of the background wherever you come from. Today the Chinese-American finally recognize how important it is to be able to speak Chinese, to be able to read Chinese, to be able to speak Chinese with your American friends. To find out where we come from and where we are going. What are we doing for our future.

It is encouraging to see that we have so many concerned young Asian Americans. They are more intelligent, more mature. They dare to ask many questions that we didn't dare to ask before. Confucius said "When one admits what he knows and what he doesn't know, then that person is a knowledgeable person."

Today, all of us sitting in this room have a mission because we are all concerned about our future and our children's future. I used to hear an old saying that the Chinese help themselves, therefore, they don't need others' help. That's a wrong assessment. Just a myth. Particularly, many of you living in the east coast and the west coast realize that the Chinese community in all the big cities are growing. It is beyond our ability to solve all our own problems even if we wanted to. As part of the American heritage, if we ignore the fact that the Chinese community needs assistance, that is insulting. Recognizing that the Chinese-Americans have problems but not getting the equal opportunity for improvement, that is inexcusable. There's no more disconcerting waste than the waste of human potential and there's no better investment than the investment in human fulfillment. To change the situation and the condition for the Chinese-American in this country is our obligation. In the past few years many Chinese leaders of all ages from different states have come to me in Washington to discuss the future of the Chinese-Americans in this country. Many new organizations have been established. Chinese men and women have begun to realize unless we move into some of the policy making positions we will have nothing to say to determine our future. Therefore I am 100% for the Chinese participation in politics. Don't be afraid to be involved in politics at all levels, starting from your local community, county level, municipal level, state level and then move on to the federal level. We have Senator Fong of Hawaii and we are proud to have March Fong in California. That's not enough. We need many many more. And for those who come from Hawaii take a look at how well the Japanese work together. We have something to learn from them. Yes, they fight too and they argue also. This is what democracy is all about. We have the right to disagree but we don't have to be disagreeable. There are about the same number of Japanese-Americans in this country but they are much better organized. In Washington they are getting much more assistance for any project they present. Why? Because they are willing to send the best talent to Washington to work for them, to promote their project. Where are we? It's getting pretty late. We have been moving too slowly. During the last election I was encouraged that a few Chinese-Americans tried to run for office and some have been successful. That is a good beginning.

We gather here today to exchange information, to talk about our common interest and to give strength to each other. We can all take pride in recognizing that we have moved a long way but we still have a long way to go. Let us not be too critical of some of our failures and our disappointments of yesterday and at the same time not be overconfident of our accomplishments and our success today. We encourage new directions as well as new ideas from each one of you. We call on all concerned citizens to take on more responsibility and obligation.

In closing, allow me to say a few words about my adopted country, America. Regardless what other people around the world have to say about America, the majority of the people still regard America as the hope for freedom and the land of opportunity because we are the people who care. We are the people who are not afraid to get involved. Shaping a peaceful world requires an America who remains strong. An America who cares enough to get involved. For we know wherever there's progress, there is challenge. The combined heritage from different people is one of the greatest strengths we have in this nation. As we move into the third century we know that domestically, internationally, our problems increase. There is no instant solution for some of those problems. This afternoon, may I ask each one of you in this room to re-dedicate ourselves in giving our strength and our effort to face the many challenges of tomorrow.

I am honored to be included as a guest at this very special occasion and I hope that more Chinese will be honored for their achievement and their effort for building a better America and a better world.

A proper speech is like a mini-skirt, long enough to cover the subject, short enough to be interesting. I hope I have done that. Thank you.

4:15- 5:15 p.m. Highlight Reports from Seminar Sessions.

5:15- 7:00 p.m. Dinner

7:00- 8:00 p.m.

THE CHINESE DIASPORA IN AMERICA, 1850-1943

By

STANFORD M. LYMAN

Sociological studies of immigration and its effects on the social organization of the United States have taken a new turn. No longer is "assimilation" assumed to be the ineluctable final outcome of a peoples' settlement abroad. The much vaunted "melting pot" is now being increasingly recognized by sociologists and journalists as an efficacious illusion: part dream, as in the wonderful wish of J. Hector St. John de Crevecour, the 18th century "American farmer," that America would dissolve in herself the divisive national identities that had made Europe such a cockpit; part tactic, as in the case of those Jews who supported and celebrated Israel Zangwill's play, *The Melting Pot* (1909), because they thought its homely message would allay widespread fears that Jews in America would remain an alien and subversive people; part ideology, as in the insistence, ritualized in the salutation to the flag, that the American people are "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." The general domestic unsettlement of the 1960s, and more especially, the renewal of racial and ethnic consciousness, the revival of nativistic movements, and the retreat of white Anglo Saxon Protestant hegemony have occasioned a reinvigorated search for the basic social values that underpin social organization in the United States. There is a vague uneasiness surrounding the recent claims that Americans are living in an era of "the decline of the WASP," and "the rise of the unmeltable ethnics." Whereas Gunnar Myrdal sought a solution to the "American dilemma" by appealing to the ultimate capacity of the core values —equality and progress—to end political, social, and economic inequalities, concerned sociologists today are beginning to wonder whether any core values even prevail.

One *intellectual* problem arising out of the current disenchantment with old formulas is the absence of compelling concepts. Concepts can organize the raw reality into a new intelligibility; more important, they can sensitize sociologists to aspects of their subject that have gone hitherto unnoticed. Yet in the sociological analysis of immigration, race and ethnic relations, and minorities concept development has lagged. The very terms of reference are unsettled. In the 1920s, undoubtedly impressed by the condition of stateless but nationalistic people in Europe, American sociologists began to perceive social issues in American society in terms of *majorities* and *minorities*. In this same era, impressed by the birth and maturation of the immigrants' children in America, Robert E. Park and Everett Stonequest, borrowing from the insights of Georg Simmel and Werner Sombart, coined the phrase *marginal man* to describe one who was a product of two cultures and a member of neither. For four decades sociologists have debated the efficacy, dimensions, and correlates of that concept. As different collective experiences were described the sociological vocabulary appeared always to be inadequate. Race prejudice, racism, institutionalized racism, pluralism, ghetto colonialism, congregation, segregation, and integration are all terms that have bidden for conceptual legitimacy. The rapidity of social change in this arena of American life suggests that the cultural and linguistic lag that has already been noticed will continue.

Immigrants in general, and Asian immigrants in particular, have been among the beneficiaries and victims of this sociological struggle for conceptual dominion and consensus. As new issues and problems have arisen, each people has been subjected or threatened with a re-analysis and re-evaluation of its history and present social position. Rarely have the members been consulted about their own categories of identity or experience. Rather, the social scientists, impelled by a belief in their own intellectual superiority and by a distrust of the reason that might prevail among their subjects, unilaterally defined the scope and meaning of these histories and lives.

Perhaps no other people has been subjected to more investigation in reference to an unanalyzed but much vaunted assimilation and the failure to achieve it than the Chinese in America. In 1869 Henry George opened the discussion by insisting that the Chinese were unassimilable; in 1928 Emory Bogardus suggested that the social distance between the Chinese and white Americans might decrease as the former ended their ghetto isolation and entered the middle class; but in 1960 Rose Hum Lee lamented the tardiness of the Chinese in assimilating, accused them of preserving unwarrantable special interests in Chinatown, and urged them to develop the will and strength of character to enter fully into the mainstream of American life. The failure, however, was not that of the Chinese. Rather, there has been a failure of sociological imagination; a faltering of perspective. Assimilation, and its attendant theories and ideologies—e.g., the race relations cycle and the melting pot ideology, respectively—suffer from what Robert Blauner has called a "managerial bias," gauging the histories and attitudes of an immigrant people in accordance with the social wishes and group interests of the dominant race.

An alternative approach would seek concepts that translate the actual lived experience of people into a sociology that clarifies it. Such a sociology has not yet been developed, but several steps along the road have already been taken. The philosophical sociology of Alfred Schutz with its emphasis on the common sense understandings of the everyday world, the division of life into routine and crisis, and the significance of temporal and personal perspectives provides a groundwork for conceptual development and new empirical investigations. The ethnomethodology of Harold Garfinkle, Aaron Cicourel and their followers introduces both a healthy skepticism about absolutism in social scientific explanation and an innovative approach to the rational and social foundations of human accomplishments. Finally, a sociology of the absurd, first presented by Stanford M. Lyman and Marvin B. Scott, promises an existential and phenomenological social science that should avoid the pitfalls of ethnocentrism, managerial bias, and hidden ideological bias.

In the orientation of these new schools of thought, borrowing from them indiscriminately and yet not necessarily taking over any one of them wholly, this essay hopes to explore the Chinese experience in America. The analysis is at once historical, sociological, and, in the phenomenological sense of that term, psychological. It is also tentative, suggestive, and in the limiting sense of the term when employed in the historical sciences, experimental. My aim is to sensitize the reader to certain dimensions of the social and psychological condition of a people that arise out of their own experience.

THE CHINESE DIASPORA

Looked at from the perspective of the immigrants, Chinese migrations have created a *diaspora*, a scattering of a portion of the Chinese people over the face of the earth. A diaspora may be said to exist where group migration has occurred, where acculturation has not taken place, where a people maintain themselves in accordance with the culture of their original homeland, and where there is at least an ideology or strong sentiment calling for an end to exile. In the case of the Chinese it is clear that their migrations were not motivated by plans for colonization, settlement, or permanent residence abroad. Rather they sought the overseas areas as places where, because of accidents of opportunity, a chance was offered to enhance their status when they returned to China. A trip abroad, a few years of work in a foreign land, and a stoic acceptance of the alien land's prejudices and discrimination could, with luck, earn a Chinese sufficient wealth to return to his village in splendor.

From Annam to Zanzibar, Chinese toiled in the hope that they would one day have enough money to retire in the land of their birth. Theirs, then, was not to be an irremediable exile, not to be the disapora of absurdity described by Camus: permanent exile in a strange land and a life devoid of memories of a homeland left behind (Camus, 1942:18). Although they were neither involuntary migrants nor slaves in America, Chinese were excluded as much from the larger society as Negroes. But unlike the blacks, Chinese were not deprived of knowledge about and sentiment for the country of their origin. Nor did they lack hope of a return to the promised land of their past. They did not experience a divorce between themselves and their familiar lives, only a separation. They had only temporarily departed from their natural setting. A return would restore them to the fullness of their existence. They could suffer the exploitation because their hope for return to China served as a source of strength.

But the dream of an honorable return did not usually match the reality of their overseas existence. In alien lands Chinese watched helplessly as the years of toil stretched out over nearly the whole of their lives. The Chinese came as strangers, desired to be homegoers, and all too often lived, and died, as permanent sojourners. Their children became marginal men, products of two cultures, members of neither.

THE CHINESE IMMIGRANT AS STRANGER. To speak of the Chinese as strangers is to see them in terms of the perceptive conceptualization first employed by Georg Simmel. "The stranger," he wrote in his essay of that title, "is . . . not . . . the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather is the person who comes today and stays tomorrow." The Chinese who journeyed to Southeast Asia, America, Europe, Africa, and Oceania were not wanderers in the strict sense of that term; they had fixed places to go, a definite purpose in mind, and a keen desire to return home to wife and kinsmen in China. Their several courses took them where opportunity beckoned. To the lonely Chinese immigrant the place where he stayed in the diaspora was his *residence;* where he happened to be was his *abode;* but only the place from which he had started out and to which he intended to return was *home*.

The Chinese as a stranger in America was *in* the society but not *of* it. He imported things into that society that were not native nor original to it.

In the most primordial sense we must necessarily recognize that the Chinese brought his body, his physiognomy, his anatomy, and his external appearance with him. In the very act he created a powerful element of his strangeness, for a part of the hierarchy of relevances, the system of priorities—the basic values—of America included the social construction and evaluation of persons as bodies categorizable into "races." It was in America that the man from Canton discovered that he belonged to a "race," that his physical features were an irreducible part of his social identity, and that he would forever exist to his hosts as an undifferentiated member of his racial category. To most Americans Chinese were impenetrable as persons, knowable only as men of "slanted" eyes and "yellow" skin. To be sure his subjective qualities could and did become at least partially known, but, as Robert E. Park's perceptive essay on the Oriental face indicated, his personal and human qualities seemed forever to be hidden "behind the mask," encapsulated within an objective physical frame from which they could not emerge.

Second, the Chinese as a stranger brought with him his language, or rather to be more exact, his languages. The peoples of Kwangtung who made up the bulk of Chinese immigrants in America spoke several dialects of the tongue Occidentals call "Chinese." Although all spoken dialects had a common written script, their verbal forms were frequently unintelligible to those who came from but a few miles away. Linguistically many of the Cantonese were strangers to each other, a phenomenon which found organizational expression in *hui kuan* (speech and territorial associations) which they established soon after their arrival in San Francisco.

However, it must be remembered that the Chinese language appeared to be but one language to Americans. To them Chinese speech seem exotic and incomprehensible, a tongue incomparable to the more familiar languages of Europe from which their own stock had sprung. To the American the Chinese speech melody seemed a cacophony; the accent it imposed on learned English was a cause for mirth and mimicry; and its characters, formed so carefully with a brush, seemed bizarre and utterly remote from the forms of European or American writing. Finally, and most important, it seemed fundamentally to be the case that Americans did not care to learn about the language or to learn to speak it. It was the immigrants' duty to learn English or suffer the consequences of restricted communication.

Third, and derivative from his language and culture, the Chinese stranger brought with him his ways of life, familiar and taken for granted to him, unfamiliar, peculiar, and sometimes frightening to Americans. Even in his absence from hearth and home, the overseas Chinese derived strength and purpose from his family. The Chinese ideal of family loyalty found painful expression in long term bachelorhood abroad, in the association of men of common surname in clans, and in the single-minded purposefulness of returning to wife and village to retire or die. The Chinese ideal of congregation beyond the family revealed itself in the *hui kuan* which united people of common dialect but divided persons who, though racially homogeneous, hailed from different speech communities of the same land. And the subterranean Chinese ideals of resistance, rebellion, and fraternal outlawry transplanted themselves in the form of the secret societies that sprang up wherever large numbers of Chinese settled, forming a parallel system of immigrant institutions inside the ghetto colony. Above all, the central characteristic of early Chinese community life that impressed itself on Americans was the immigrants' adherence to a system of *kadi* justice, traditional law, and partimonial power. Clans, *hui kuan*, and secret societies governed the lives of the immigrants, dispensed justice, adjudicated quarrels, settled disputes, levied fines, punished wrongdoers, and on occasion, meted out capital punishment. To the Americans, Chinese seemed to have established an *imperium in imperio*, a parallel state, and to owe to its institutions and leaders a depth of fealty and allegiance out of proportion to its worth and out of character with what Americans expected of its immigrants. To the Chinese the social system that they established in Chinatown was a familiar form of political and economic organization. It was not universally loved or even uniformly favored, but it was respected and for some revered.

However, it was not only their institutions that puzzled and angered Americans. The personal life and style of the Chinese excited curiosity and, on all too many occasions contempt. The plaited queue in which Chinese men wore their hair was a constant source of amusement and derision. The queue originated as a symbol of subjugation imposed on the Chinese people by the Manchu conquerors in 1645. Gradually it had evolved into the badge of citizenship in the imperial state. In the first half century of their immigration to America, Chinese were taunted about their "pigtails," shaved to the scalp by mobs and miscreants, and, in 1876, ordered by law to have their queues cut off if they served a sentence in prison or were jailed while awaiting trial. To Californians the blue overalls, loose-fitting shirts, and wide-brimmed black hat favored by the Chinese seemed less a costume than a uniform, and tended to encourage the belief that they were serfs and bondmen unfit for settlement in a free society. Further, the practice of binding the feet of women, common among Chinese gentry, but by no means uniform among peasantry and laborers, aroused shock and indignation.* Finally, the seemingly loose and dissolute life of Chinese bachelors evoked a chorus of moral imprecations against the immigrants from the Middle Kingdom. Condemned first by Chinese custom then by American law to an almost complete celibacy in the overseas country, the Chinese lived as homeless men, turning to prostitution for sexual outlet, gambling for recreational release, and on occasion opium smoking for surcease from the cares of their lonely sojourn.

As immigrants from a traditional society who had taken up temporary residences in a frontier land to make their fortunes, the Chinese exhibited special characteristics. They were in America not to colonize nor to spread the culture of China. Neither were they there to be absorbed into America's melting pot of races and nations. Rather the special and unique character of their immigration required them to *adapt* America and its ways to their own purposes rather than *adopt* it to the exclusion and surrender of their own values. The experiences to be had in America were bracketed within the all-encompassing goal of the trip itself: to acquire wealth which in the homeland could be used to recoup status lost by flood, poverty, or war, to demand greater esteem, and to enjoy a generally better life. In this sense the familiar context in which contemporary American scholars examine immigration history—in terms of "assimilation," "contributions," and "mobility patterns" —does not describe the Chinese immigrants' own perspective. He was there to earn enough money to leave; he was there in body alone, while his spirit remained in the homeland; he was there because it offered him an opportunity to pursue his aim, not because he desired to stamp its future history with his presence.

The Chinese approached American society with the outlook characteristic of sojourner strangers in general. The most prominent features of this outlook are an enterprising spirit, a willingness to move wherever opportunity beckons, an orientation toward the future which overrides both engrained tradition and current condition, and a freedom from convention. In spite of the hostile prejudices against them, the Chinese persevered and endured. Their efforts are testimony to the unsung genius and enormous capacity of an oppressed inmigrant people.

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*A Chinese woman in traditional dress and with bound feet had been exhibited as a freak attraction on Broadway in 1834. Missionaries exhorted the Chinese to halt this practice and cited it frequently as evidence of the horrors and immorality that characterized pagan peoples.

The Chinese Immigrant as Sojourner. Those Chinese who stayed on in the overseas area, postponing their trip home year after year became the sojourner stock of America's pioneer Chinese (Siu, 1952: 34-44). The special psychological characteristic of the sojourner is manifested in his clinging to the culture and style of the country from which he has come. Despite having been transplanted, he retains the outlook of a Chinese villager, loyal to his family, nostalgic for the Cantonese countryside, friendly to the members of his *hui kuan,* and distant, aloof, and "objective" toward the peoples in the host society. Typically he is neither hostile nor despairing; rather he regards the conditions of his long lonely existence as a challenge to wit and patience. The overseas society exists for him as a job and an opportunity, neither as something to reject, rebuke, or revolt against. To the sojourner his own primary group—kin and friends in China—are the center of things. It is *for* them that he labors so long abroad. It is *to* them that he owes whatever his work may bring. It is *by* them that he will be honored and remembered. The sojourner is a man who remains in an alien country for a very long period of time without being assimilated by it.

As a Chinese wishing to remain Chinese the sojourner characteristically encloses himself in a Chinese world while abroad. "Chinatown," that quarter of the city reserved to Chinese businesses and residences, becomes his basic abode. To be sure his choice in this matter is not entirely voluntary; racial hostility, housing segregation, occupational exclusion, and the general pattern of discrimination in America combine to force ghettoization even on those who have more cosmopolitan outlooks. Nevertheless, in the ghetto, surrounded by compatriots who hail from his native land, the sojourner is in touch with his community and culture. The larger society is physically near but socially remote. Enclosed within the narrow confines of Chinatown, he eats, sleeps, works, and plays under the tutelage of his native values. So long as the outside society does not intrude on his solitude, he remains a Cantonese while abroad.

Even when he is bereft of a Chinese community, the sojourner may be able or be forced to retain his outlook. The lone Chinese laundryman in a white neighborhood, the solitary Chinese restauranteur in a small town, the Chinese cook on a remote ranch in the territory,* and the isolated Chinese student in

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*A poignant example is provided by Frederic Remington's description of a ranch cook at the hacienda of San Jose de Bavicora in a remote part of Mexico:

> 'Charlie Jim,' the Chinese cook, has a big room with a stove in it, and he and the stove are a never-ending wonder to all the folks, and the fame of both has gone across the mountains to Sonora and to the south. Charlie is an autocrat in his curious Chinese way, and by the dignity of his position as Mr. Jack's private cook and his unknown antecedents, he conjures the Mexicans and d———s the Texans, which latter refuse to take him seriously and kill him, as they would a 'proper' man. Charlie Jim, in return, entertains ideas of Texans which he secretes, except when

a metropolitan university may keep their minds on their single purpose, their contacts secondary, and their associations brief. Cultural distance from the larger world may be enhanced by the language barrier, while a self-enforced isolation may reduce the possibility that major life adjustments will have to be made. Finally, the ready manner in which race contacts become institutionalized in a formal and rigid way may perforce assist the sojourner, whatever his real desire, to remain a stranger in the society.

For the sojourner life abroad is defined along the narrow lines of a job. It is something that must be done in order that something else shall follow it. Thus the overseas Chinese student studied so that he might assume a post as scientist, engineer, or diplomat in China; the overseas Chinese restauranteur cooked chop suey because that would hopefully make enough money to return home where chop suey was unknown; and the Chinese laundryman washed, ironed, and sewed because that was one of the few occupations open to Chinese men in a frontier society lacking large numbers of women. The job is not a career. It is a preparatory state of existence. But that preparatory state could and often did last the lifetime of the sojourner.

The Chinese laundryman is the sojourner *par excellence*. His job did not come to him by choice; rather it was gleaned from among the occupational leavings of the American frontier.* To be a laundryman in America did not entail a career commitment. Instead it involved the location in a job niche, an acquisition of the skill related to it, and the willingness to continue until fortune had at last smiled. All too often the millenial dream of good fortune receded into an ever-long future. But still the laundryman toiled on. Eventually his condition became ritualized, a thing in itself, rewarded by the small satisfactions of aiding wife and children in China, continued because nothing else seemed to suggest itself. The novelist L. C. Tsung has captured this condition in a passage from his novel, *The Marginal Man*:

The neon sign of a Chinese hand laundry reminded Charles of the

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> they dine with Jack, when he may be heard to mutter, 'Cake and pie no good for puncher, make him fat and lazy'; and when he cross the patio and they fling a rope over his foot, he becomes livid; and breaks out, 'Da–– puncher; da–– rope; rope man all same horse; da–– puncher; no good that way.

"An Outpost of Civilization," *Frederick Remington's Own West*, ed. by Harold McCracken (New York: Dial Press, 1960), p. 139.

*Lin Yutang has presented this idea in fiction in a sensitive speech by a laundryman in Chinatown:

> I did not choose, son. And it is not bad as you can see. I have made a living, and we are now all here. There was no other way. All you have is a pair of hands, and you do what the Americans do not want to do and allow you to do. When they built the railroads in the West, there were no women there. Those American men. They could not cook, and they could not wash. We Chinese cooked and washed better, so they allowed us to cook and wash. Now we wash America and cook America because we wash better and cook better. I would have opened a restaurant if I had the money (Lin Yutang, 1948: 27).

> several shirts he had not yet picked up. The sign said Wen Lee, but Charles had never been able to ascertain whether the proprietor's family name was Wen or Lee. He entered the shop and saw the old man still hard at work behind the counter, ironing under a naked electric bulb, although it was already ten o'clock at night . . .
>
> 'How many years have you been in the States?' Charles asked out of curiosity as he paid the man.
>
> 'Forty years,' the old man answered in Cantonese, and raised his four fingers again. No expression showed on his face.
>
> 'Do you have a family?'
>
> 'Big family. A woman, many sons and grandsons. All back home in Tangshan.'
>
> 'Have you ever gone back since you came out here?'
>
> 'No, I only send money,' replied the old man. From underneath the counter he brought out a photograph and showed it to Charles. In the center sat a white-haired old woman, surrounded by some fifteen or twenty men, women and children, of various ages . . . The whole clan, with contented expressions on their faces, were the offspring of this emaciated old man, who supported not only himself but all of them by his two shaking, bony hands. They seemed to represent the flow of a great river of life, originating from a tiny stream. The stream may dry up some day, but the river flows on. The old man put on his glasses again and identified each person in the picture to Charles Lin. A toothless smile came to his expressionless face.
>
> Charles Lin realized that this picture was the old man's only comfort and relaxation. He had toiled like a beast of burden for forty years to support a large family which was his aim of existence, the sole meaning of his life. The picture to him was like a diploma, a *summa cum laude* to an honor student. Behind the facade of sadness and resignation there was the inner satisfaction which made this old man's life bearable and meaningful (Tsung, 1963: 158-159).

THE CHINESE IMMIGRANT AS HOMEGOER. Should he fulfill his dream in the overseas country, the Chinese immigrant returned home. To do so was to retranspose memory back into experience. The customs, ways, and institutions of China that he carried away with him into the diaspora were discovered again, life was recreated in its original form, and the joys of the familiar were again a source of everyday happiness. Such at any rate was the ideal. However, two sets of changes marred this wish-fulfilling picture and rendered the dream less of a possibility than the dreamer supposed.

To the Chinese the picture of returning home was clear enough. Pardee Lowe, the son of a Chinese immigrant to America, describes his father's image of what it would mean to return to China:

> Father was deeply sensible of the great honors which would be bestowed upon him if he returned to Sahn Kay Sawk. All kinsmen

> who returned, he remembered, were held in very high esteem. Because of their fortunes they were not treated as ordinary villagers who had never gone abroad. Instead, they were hailed as *Kum Sahn Hock* (Guests from the Golden Mountains). Nothing the village could offer was too good for him. They feasted off the fat of the land, and were treated as mandarins (Lowe, 1943:5).

This image of the return to China presumes that the historical and cultural clock will stand still, that the society that was left behind will remain as it was, that its traditions will not erode, its customs not expire, its fundamental ways not change. So long as the time between departure and the return was short and so long as no major change cracked the cake of custom in traditional China this presumption remained valid. However, for many Chinese what began as a brief and profitable sojourn abroad turned into years of exile. Thus after decades of waiting for his return a Chinese wife wrote to her husband, "You promised me to go abroad for only three years, but you have stayed there nearly thirty years now" (Siu, 1952: 35-36). As the decades abroad passed China changed. In 1911 the Manchu Empire fell before the onslaught of Sun Yat Sen and his revolutionaries. The warring factions eventually united under Chiang Kai-Shek or joined the growing Communist Movement. A few independent warlords played politics with the scene. In 1949 the Communists succeeded in capturing the state and driving Chiang and his minions to Formosa. Throughout all this period many overseas Chinese held fast to their dream. Those who returned found a different China than the one they had left.

After 1949 the Chinese in America were cut off from remigration. In fact, although few overseas Chinese realize it, the diaspora had ended. For the aged Chinese the sojourn had become a permanent exile. In 1962 William Willmott and I interviewed an aged Chinese in Welles, British Columbia. He told us he had a wife in China he had not seen in forty-five years and a son he had never seen. He said that he received letters from them regularly. When we asked when he planned to rejoin his wife and son, he sighed and said "Maybe, next year." Then he asked if the present regime in China treated old people well; he was afraid, he said, and wondered what would happen to him if he returned.

However, even if the traditional home had not changed during his absence, the immigrant had. The years abroad in the new society could not help but leave their mark. Perhaps he had learned another language and back in his home country found himself thinking—and even occasionally, speaking—in that tongue. More likely he had acquired new skills, interests, and habits which estranged him from his fellow men at home. Some Chinese severed their queues while in America and had so come to favor the tonsorial styles of the Occident that they were embarrassed at the requirement in force until 1911 that they rebraid their hair when they remigrated to China. Abroad the Chinese immigrant had—perhaps unconsciously—come to incorporate and appreciate some of the fundamental ideas and everyday practices of America as his own. Back home in China he found himself alienated from his own people—not Chinese anymore, but certainly not an acculturated American either.

However, many of those who dreamed of going home one day from the overseas advanture could not make enough money to do so. To assuage their loneliness and, often enough, to marry and sire children, they became birds-of-passage, returning to China every few years to marry, visit with their wife, enjoy the comforts of hearth and home, and then going back to the immigrant colony where they labored in lonely solitude. Pardee Lowe recalls that his father had at one time returned to China to acquire a wife, repay the debts of his family, and retire in luxury. However, "Marriage and redemption of the family homestead soon exhausted Father's meager fortune. He returned to America, not gladly from all I heard, but reconciled. Thousands of Chinese were doing the same thing every year; spending in their native villages a fortune gained abroad, and coming back to this country to toil laboriously to acquire the necessary money to repeat their trip" (Lowe, 1945: 7).

Even some of those who returned for good did not resume an ordinary life. All too often the "fortune" that they had earned abroad was eaten up by family debts, by bribes to the ubiquitous corrupt magistrates, and by the inevitable feasts, gifts, and ostentatious splendor required of one who had made a success of himself. After funds had been exhausted some new means for making a living had to be found. Sometimes the skills acquired abroad could be turned to use nearer to home. A nice example is found in the recollections of Hosea Ballou Morse, a scholar and administrator who was quite familiar with old China:

> An incident which occurred to the author in 1893 throws some light on the usual result to a returned Chinese emigrant. At a railroad station in Formosa he was addressed in fluent and correct English by the proprietor-cook of the station restaurant; and in answer to a question of astonishment, the Chinese explained why he was there. He had returned from California with a fortune of $2,000.00. He had first to disburse heavily to remain unmolested by the magistrate and his underlings; then he had to relieve the necessities of his aged father; then an uncle, who had fallen into business difficulties, must be rescued from impending bankruptcy; and then he found he had only enough left to procure himself a wife, with a few dollars margin wherewith to establish himself in his present business, which at most would require $100.00 capital. (Morse, 1910: 166n).

MARGINAL MEN. If the immigrant who stayed became a permanent sojourner, his children found themselves one step removed from that condition yet not fully a part of the society in which they had been born. They were, in Robert Park's memorable words, marginal men:

> The marginal man is a personality type that arises at a time and a

> place where, out of the conflict of races and cultures, new societies, new peoples and cultures are coming into existence. The fate which condemns him to live, at the same time, in two worlds is the same which compels him to assume, in relation to the worlds in which he lives, the role of a cosmopolitan and a stranger (Park, 1961: xvii).

As marginal men American born Chinese experienced the variety of senses in which they were cultural hybrids. The Chinese Americans were products of two cultures, partial members of two societies. They shared in the cultural traditions and social life of America and of Chinatown intimately at some times, formally at others, on occasion casually, but in some instances with excruciating if silent anguish. Not quite able to break with the manners and customs of their parents, they were still unable to completely join in the ways of America. Racial prejudice kept them at a distance from white America, while Americanization reduced their commitment to Chinatown. The Chinese American, like the second generation of other ethnic groups, "was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused" (Park, 1950: 354).

One aspect of their condition that differentiated American born Chinese from children of European immigrants was race. So long as America retained its racial prejudice and racist practices, acculturation would not result in acceptance. As late as 1939 William Carlson Smith observed that "Many years will pass before American-born Chinese and Japanese in California will be accepted by the white group, no matter how thoroughly Americanized they become. Skin color and the slant (sic!) of eyes categorically classify them with their alien parents" (Smith, 1939: 369). In their relations with other Americans, the offspring of immigrants from China discovered the ubiquitous intrusiveness of race.

Even when Chinese Americans believed that they had overcome racial prejudices and unfavorable stereotypes they unexpectedly encountered hostilities and antagonisms. A student in a midwestern college reported on an ugly inter-racial incident that later gave way to friendship:

> In college I was taken into a fraternity. In my second year I took part in the initiation of the new men. We had them lined up and were paddling them with some boards and staves. Several of the fellows had paddled them and then my turn came. After I had given one of the fellows a swat he turned around and said, 'You damned Chink! What business do you have to hit me?' That was a big shock to me. Why should he pick on me? I said nothing and when it came to the election I voted that he be received. After some time we became the best of friends (Smith, 1937: 193).

But the racial distinction often combined with cultural tradition to stigmatize a Chinese American not only in the country of his birth but also in that of his parents. Such experiences served to drive home the unique position of the second generation Chinese, impressing upon him the fact that he was caught in the middle of a conflict over which he had little control. For example, an Hawaiian-born Chinese girl who had been treated as an American in Honolulu discovered quite a different response in California:

> I gradually learned that I was a foreigner—a Chinese—that I would be wiser to admit it and to disclaim my American citizenship, particularly when I was in a Chinese group. I accepted my title as a *foreign* student more graciously. I became more accustomed to the stares of the American people, to their remarks, and to their sneers. I did not feel inferior to them; I did not feel antagonistic toward them; but I was disappointed and deeply hurt (Smith, 1939: 372).

But when this girl despaired of America, schooled herself in the Chinese language and culture, and journeyed to the land of her parents' birth, she found that she was still a foreigner, an *Americanized* Chinese and thus an alien to China's ways:

> I gave up trying to be a Chinese; for as soon as the people in China learned that I was an oversea (sic) Chinese, they remarked, 'Oh, you are a foreigner,' Some asked, 'Where did you learn to speak Chinese?' Some thought it remarkable that I spoke Chinese at all. So you see I was quite foreign to China. I wore Chinese clothes and tried to pass as a Chinese, but I could not so I gave up and admitted my foreign birth and education (Smith, 1937: 245).

As she lived and reflected on her experiences in China and California, the girl was torn between the questions of identity. To be neither Chinese to people of her lineage nor American to people of her birthplace left her in limbo. But limbo is a land where few care to live and most journey out of it—to compromise and anguish and, perhaps, resignation. The girl concludes:

> I lack very much a Chinese background, Chinese culture, and Chinese manners and customs; I have neither their viewpoint nor their patience. Sometimes I was homesick for America. Where I had friends, I felt better. I got more or less adjusted to some things—one of them was the rickshaw. But most of the time, I had very mixed feelings. I find that unconsciously now I try to avoid the subject of China; I try to put it out of my mind and attention; I don't want to think or feel about China . . . America is really my country and my home (Smith, 1937: 243-244).

Marginality is a problem not only vis a vis the dominant racial group but also in relation to the self. It produces one of the cardinal elements of *anomie—self estrangement*. Alienation from one's own self is a probability when pschosocial acculturation is accompanied by racial stigma. In such a situation individuals find that their very bodies are problematic to them—are issues worthy of both philosophical reflection and worrisome anxiety. To an American-born Chinese the very face he presents, masking behind its Oriental visage a half-American mind, may evoke a painful, even excruciating, contradiction.

Frank Chin captures this moment of self-estrangement in his haunting novel about Dirigible, a young man of San Francisco's Chinatown:

> The clean shaven face, washed and dried, cleanly drily opaque, pinkish, brownish, yellow and vaguely luminescent in the light was grand. Seeing his skin in the mirror, touching his face with his fingers, he sensed color and essence stimulated to movement through his face like petals and leaves stiffening in the sunlight. Pockmarked, lined, shadowed, full of character, like the face of a mudflat dried into a desert of potato chips. Dirigible's real face . . . The face was forced still, to be looked at in the mirror by him (Chin, 1970: 31-31).

Beneath the sense of dual and unresolved identity, and beyond the *angst* of self-estrangement, the Chinese American senses his own non-membership in the two cultures. Product of both, member of neither, he lives between them, participating in the activities appropriate to both but feeling his alien identity even as he acts. Victor Wong, a Chinese American who grew up in San Francisco's Chinatown in the 1930's, vividly recalls the pain and misunderstanding that arose from his marginal status:

> So we *were* all immigrants in those days, no matter where we were born. Between the Chinese and the English education, we had no idea where we belonged. Even to this day, if I wanted to say I'm going to China I would never say it that way; I would say *go back* to China. Because I was taught from the time I was born that this was not my country, that I would have to go to China to make my living as an adult. And I think that if it hadn't been for the Japanese War—that is with the Americans; December 7, 1941—many of us *would* probably have had to go back to China, with our parents (Wong, 1970: 70).

Until the outbreak of World War II Chinese immigrants retained a sojourner attitude not only for themselves but for their children as well. The sacred duty to be buried in the village of one's father's birth meant little to Chinese born in the United States, but prejudice and discrimination served as a constant reminder of their unequal status and limited opportunities in America. Parents would counsel their children to pay little heed to the daily slights and the legal, occupational, and social restrictions they encountered—except to let those acts of injustice remind them that their ultimate future was in China and, in the interim, in Chinatown. Therefore, parents would advise their children, both a Chinese and an American education was very important. The English schools would provide one with the training, skills, and techniques which would prove useful in China; the Chinese language school would provide one with the language, customs, and traditions which would make it possible to assume a new life in the homeland of their parents. Chinese American youths were encouraged to adopt a diligent but instrumental orientation toward America and what it had to offer. They were to acquire its methods and technics—but they were not to be seduced by its culture, style, and way of life. Though born and reared in America, they were to remain Chinese.

At the same time the schools were interested in Americanizing the offspring of all immigrants, though not necessarily in encouraging all of them to aspire after social equality. Chinese children were required to speak, read, and write English. They were taught to revere American Revolutionary War leaders as the Founding Fathers of *their* country. Chinese Americans absorbed many of the ways of America readily and as a matter of course in school, in the mass media, and in extra-curricular activities. As Chinese Americans they found that they could not step into the white American mainstream because of severe racial prejudice and discrimination. But neither could they acquiesce to a sojourner existence; their own acculturation had progressed too far. Caught between the poles of absorption and remigration, they managed an existence, carving a way of life out of the half-a-loaf provided to them by Chinatown and the larger society, respectively.

The ambiguity of this existence produced a painful and awkward adjustment for the Chinese Americans. Many found themselves thinking more and more like their white peers but denied the opportunity to practice an American way of life. Respectful of their parents, they nevertheless could not conform to their wishes.

The remarkable difference in discipline and self-control in the American public and Chinese language schools is a reflection of the dual existence that characterized life in general for Chinese Americans. Galen Chow, who studied in San Francisco's afternoon Chinatown schools in the early 1940's, recalls the experience in a vivid description of children's life among second generation Chinese in America. Chow's parents had carefully advised him on proper behavior in public school.

> In contrast no pressure was exerted by my parents to do anything but attend Chinese school. This double standard led to a Jekyll-Hyde existence for me on school days. In public school I was a model of deportment, studious and courteous. In Chinese school I was a little terror-baiting the teacher constantly, fighting and getting into all kinds of mischief. The reason for my parents' attitudes was not lost on me. In public school, where all the teachers were white, I had to present my best posture in order not to shame the Chinese in general and my family in particular. In Chinese school where all the students and teachers were Chinese we could revert to normal. However, probably due to the strain of my role playing in public school, I would react to an extreme when turned loose in Chinese school. Generally, I think these actions and reactions were true to some extent, more or less, in all the Chinese children.

Helen Lowe summed up this cultural generation gap when she said, "Father's American ways are not American enough, and as for his Chinese habits and ideas, they are queer, unreasonable, and humiliating!" (Lowe, 1945: 175). Her brother, Pardee, has recorded in minute detail the increasing tide of his own Americanization – the move to larger quarters for the family, the purchase and installation of a bathtub to replace the wooden bucket used throughout his childhood, the long struggle to obtain his father's permission to enter Stanford University, and finally his marriage to a white girl (Lowe, 1945: 149-161, 174-195, 225-237). However, the Horatio Alger success story did not describe the life of all Chinese Americans. Elmer Wok Wai, born at the turn of the century into the slum of San Francisco's Chinatown, saw his brother and sister sold to meet expenses, was educated in an asylum for wayward youth, and then turned out into the streets. He became a thug and strong-arm man for a Chinese secret society, killed a man, and spent seventeen years in San Quentin prison. After being parolled he ended his days as an overworked and underpaid domestic in the employ of white people (Griggs, 1969).

Even when their lives overseas were eventually crowned with success, Chinese Americans suffered because of their marginal status. Pardee Lowe became estranged from his father for two years and spoke to him only when necessary after they had quarreled bitterly over the proper way to live in America (Lowe, 1945: 176-178). Jade Snow Wong, whose ceramics became internationally renowned in the 1940's, entered into her life's work under a double burden. As a Chinese American she suffered from the prejudices and stereotypes commonly inflicted on members of her race; as a woman she had to overcome the traditional Chinese view that opposed the presence of women in independent professions (J. Wong, 1945: 211-246). Rose Hum Lee, born into a Montana family of Chinese descent, endured both local and family ostracism and generalized racial discrimination in her efforts to become a leading sociologist specializing in the study of Chinese Americans (Lee, 1960). Victor Wong a Chinese American born and reared in San Francisco benefitted from the greater opportunities for Chinese Americans during World War II and became an engineer. But he anguished so much over his ambiguous status in America that he first repudiated his Chinese background and sought a complete American identity, then, unhappy in that situation, he returned to an all-Chinese setting and resumed a more ethnically exclusive existence (V. Wong, 1970: 71-72).

Before World War II the likelihood that many Chinese Americans would realize a secure and productive life in America seemed remote.* Up until the 1940's the number of Chinese born in America had been low because of the shortage of women in the immigrant group. The few Chinese Americans who reached maturity in the first thirty years of the twentieth century entered into the business established by their kinsmen in Chinatown—restaurants, laundries, curio shops—or went to China to make a living.

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*As the number of Chinese Americans began to grow and their education improved, Chinese community leaders expressed concern for their future. In 1929 Chinatown newspaper editor Ng Poon Chew observed:

> Perhaps the future of our American born Chinese will have to look to China for their life work. In this there is much hope. China will open thousands of lines for ambitious modernized young men to utilize their learnings to help develop the country's resources (Chew, 1970: 8).

The idea of a career in China excited much interest among young American-born Chinese in the 1920's and '30's. However, among those Chinese Americans who went to China were many who found themselves even more estranged than they had felt in the United States. Moreover, the social unrest that characterized China's internal condition in the first half of the century did not recommend itself to too many overseas Chinese. In some Chinatown families brothers divided over how to proceed, one choosing China, while the other chose Chinatown. In 1926 Winifred Raushenbush, a research associate of Robert E. Park, reported on what she regarded as a Chinese American success story (Raushenbush, 1926: 221). An old Chinatown family had two sons. One had become an engineer, gone to China, and was, at the time of her research, helping "Sun Yat Sen to work out his ideas about the harbors of Canton." The other had graduated from Stanford University where he had been a football player, and become a businessman and politician conciliating the warring factions in San Francisco's Chinatown. The latter "is a man who, because of his popularity as an athlete, and because of the wide diverse human curiosities which have made him a politician, finds himself at home both in America and in Chinatown, free to go back and forth from one to the other . . . He has solved in his own person a problem vastly more important to Chinatown than that of the fighting tongs; he has gotten out of the ghetto."

However, most Chinese could not get out of the ghetto. As late as the 1930's Chinese parents urged their children to prepare themselves for a life in China. Jade Snow Wong's father "encouraged her to make the mastery of Chinese her main objective; for he wanted her to go to China to study after high school graduation. He thought that a Chinese could realize his optimum achievement only in China." Her brother was also urged to think of China as his future home. "Father and son agreed that the study of medicine in China would prepare Older Brother for his career. Knowing the Chinese language, he could establish himself where medical personnel was greatly needed, and he could strengthen his ancestral ties by visits to Daddy's native village and relatives" (J. Snow Wong, 1945: 95). Victor Wong bitterly recalls that in the 1930's "it was always China that we were taught was home. In those days we were all *immigrants*. Whether we were born in America, or not, we were all immigrants . . . " V. Wong, 1976: 24).

If China seemed uninviting and white America too formidable, then Chinatown beckoned feebly to some young Chinese Americans. In 1926 a young American-born Chinese told Winifred Raushenbush, "Just wait until the native-born ride into power here among the Chinese in San Francisco—which will happen sometime within the next ten or twelve years—and you will see a different Chinatown." (Raushenbush, 1926: 221). More Chinese Americans turned to work in restaurants, laundries, curio shops, and the Chinatown lottery in this period than went to China. But beginning in the 1930's more Chinese were being born in America and the pressure on Chinatowns to absorb this growing population portended difficulty. In the same period the Rocky Mountain Chinatowns began to decline, and Chinese from Montana to Arizona began migrating to San Francisco, Chicago, and New York, centers of Chinese settlement in America. Chinatown's capacity to house and employ America's Chinese became taxed just as the great depression set in.

However successful it was as an arena of employment, the ghetto contained its American-born Chinese so well that they had little contact with those white outsiders with whom they might have shared a common outlook. Galen Chow recalls that during his childhood in San Francisco's Chinatown all his chums were fellow Chinese of the second generation, and with the exception of his white public school teachers, he had almost no contact with white America.

> We all played in and around the streets and buildings of Chinatown with an air of proprietorship. We knew every street, alley, unusual building, and every nook and cranny of Chinatown. We were less sure of ourselves when we ventured out of Chinatown either by ourselves or with our parents and at these times would present our stereotypical personalities of the subdued, unscrutable Oriental to the white world.

The era of Chinese diaspora in America began to erode in the decade that began with the admission of Chinese to quota status as immigrants and the right of naturalization (1943) and concluded with the triumph of the communist revolution in China. Since then Chinese have become more and more a national minority in polyglot America. With the sex ratio coming ever more into balance, the marriage of American born Chinese to one another increasing, and the birth and maturation of second and third generations in the United States, we may speak of the shift from a diasporic people to an ethnic group. Characteristic of this change is the beginnings of filiopietistic history, the interest in discovering Chinese "contributions" to America, the search for ethnic origins, and the rise of Asian American studies. There is also the noticeable difference between the attitudes of the American-born and the newly arrived immigrants. The new gangs of American Chinatowns give violent expression to this fact as they organize along lines that separate the native American from the youths recently arrived from Hong Kong. And the old institutions of Chinatown—the clans, *hui kuan*, and secret societies—struggle to maintain themselves in the face of the acculturation and suburbanization of the growing Chinese American middle class and diffidence, hostility, and intractability of the new immigrants.

Paradoxically perhaps, the best evidence of the decline of diaspora is the rise of historical and national consciousness. Membership in the peoplehood of Chinese was a taken-for-granted feature of the immigrant group and the first small cohorts of American-born Chinese. It is among the Americanized generations, the college-bound, and university educated that the gnawing sense of ambivalence and anguish over identity finds anguished expression. Seeking a break away from the brass of America that once seemed like gold to their grandfathers, this generation turns to ethnicity, rediscovers history, defines culture, and attempts to reenter the community. The new Chinese represent America as it is—neither a melting pot nor a mosaic, rather a plurality of interests, values, institutions, and sentiments in less than equal or peaceful coexistence. But that is the story for another paper. For the moment we might dwell on the realities and sentiments of the last era—diaspora and its consequences. It shall not be with us again.

8:00- 9:00 p.m. Open Forum: "The Chinese Diaspora"; other subjects.

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1975

8:00- 9:00 a.m. Registration Desk open.

9:00- 9:45 a.m.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE ON UNITED STATES HISTORY

By

HARRY W. LOW

It is gratifying to participate in this historic National Conference. I am especially pleased that there is such interest in Chinese-American history which focuses on the period from 1850 to 1960. But why leave out the last 15 years?

The influence of Chinese on United States history is part of a great picture, an unfinished painting, not a mathematical equation that abruptly ends in a sum. And like a painting each of the speakers and panelists sees diverse things. We differ in what we see, in what is gloss, what is real, what is enduring, what is glib and oily, what is precise and what is concealing. Some of our historical influence is robust, some outrageous, irrational, a blot, and even tender strokes.

After a day of this conference we have confirmed what we knew, that a historical examination is not an exact science. History like beauty is in the eyes of the beholder. No one can judge what is the extent of our influence, and whether it is or will be temporary or lasting.

As a Chinese-American it is hard to speak of "our influence," obviously like every participant or artist, we dip our brush in our own soul and paint our own thoughts in how we view history.

The very title of our conference raises some questions. How do we separate the Chinese-American from United States history? How do we really differ? Are we not a part of the whole – certainly the development of California and of the United States cannot be easily separated from the conduct as well as the social and economic life of the Chinese.

If we do separate out the role of Chinese-Americans, and look at our long presence in the United States, why hasn't our influence been greater? And why so little knowledge of the Chinese-Americans' influence?

Because we are different, there is a strong likelihood that we shall in some ways always be set apart. Many Americans still consider "American" as synonymous with white, and non-whites as foreigners. It has only been in recent years that Chinese-Americans have fully participated in community life. Our participation and influence is yet developing and has yet to reach full maturity.

That time of maturity will soon come and there should be an outburst of Asians greatly involved in all phases of community activities. That includes the political life which so greatly influences and controls the progress of any group.

It will take all of the more than 125 years for this to happen. Time and more importantly determination and self-discipline are necessary to bring this about. The present day Chinese-American needs to be every bit as vigilant as his forefathers in preserving his identity and heritage, as well as preserving the pioneering spirit of his forefathers.

The new Chinese-American, emerging into positions of community leadership must help his fellows and particularly assist the new Asian immigrant to the United States. He must be aware of the history of the past, not to allow himself to be the maker or promoter of unfair laws or be the unfair law enforcer or endorser. He must be a positive influence.

Why has our past community influence or impact particularly in the affairs of government been less than momentous?

The prevention of Chinese to access to the institutions of government, particularly the courts for redress of injustices committed against them, made it easy to limit their influence as well as to commit all sorts of atrocities on Chinese. It not only destroyed any possible community influence they might have, but diminished their own self esteem. It is no wonder that many early Chinese would only consider themselves sojourners and not a permanent part of the United States.

Any influence, not just political but whether social, economic or otherwise importantly depends on access to all institutions of government. Isolation from the main, diminishes influence. Exclusion all but destroys it.

An 1854 California Supreme Court case points out the attitude of the government those days. This case set the trend and temperament for Chinese participation in community affairs.

In *People* vs *Hall*, a "white citizen" was charged with murder. A Chinese houseboy was the only witness. The California law then said that "no Indian" could testify for or against a white man. The defendant was convicted on the Chinese houseboy's testimony and the case was appealed. The Supreme Court ruled that "Chinese were Indians" and threw out the testimony. To argue otherwise would be an insult to the good sense of the legislature. "Otherwise, to let Chinese testify in a court of law would admit them to all the equal rights of citizenship. And we might soon see them at the polls, in the jury box, upon the bench, and in our legislative halls," said the Supreme Court.

The Court went on, and I quote

> "The anomalous spectacle of a distinct people, living in our community, recognizing no laws of this state except through necessity, bringing with them their prejudices and national feuds, in which they indulge in open violation of the law; whose mendacity is proverbial; a race of people whom nature has marked as inferior, and who are incapable of progress or intellectual development beyond a certain point, as their history has shown; differing in language, opinion, color, and physical conformation; between whom and ourselves nature has placed an impassable difference. They should be denied the right to testify and denied the further privilege

of participation in administering the affairs of Government."

I first came across this outrageous decision when I was a Deputy in the California Attorney General's office. As a young lawyer, I should check on its current validity. For if "Chinese were Indians," I wanted to claim my rights as an Indian. While Indians were also subjected to great discrimination, they were also accorded certain rights for the land that was taken from them. I wanted to claim my share of oil lands, free fishing privileges and free camping on Indian reservations.

Fortunately, the case was overruled long ago. Yet, it is a permanent part of our legal history, that the highest court of California could, and did write, such an intolerant and bigoted opinion.

Without access to the courts, Chinese were forced to rely heavily on the family and district associations, especially when dealing with the outside community.

This further increased the isolation. The ease with which oppressive acts could be practiced against the Chinese made such acts particularly intense during times of economic recession.

The denial of equal rights and equal opportunities continued for many years. But the Chinese persisted. They refused to be driven out. They had no reason to admit inferiority.

The fate of a minority group is closely tied to economic conditions. Even today we can note that a depressed economy will bring on even more bleak conditions for the oppressed.

Dissatisfied people look for a scapegoat. In the early days the fact that Chinese had no right to vote made them particularly vulnerable to politicians.

In the good times, when the economy was booming, wealth and work plentiful, Chinese were welcomed. Chinese were praised for their customs of cleanliness, thrift, sobriety, industry and orderly behavior. Chinese were willing to perform the uncongenial and strenuous work.

In poorer times, the anti-Chinese movement would build into a frenzy.

The Foreign Miner's Tax was passed by the California Legislature in 1852 as the gold diminished. The law was bad, but the law enforcers were worse. The tax collector's pay depended on the amount of taxes he collected. This resulted in a scandal compelling the California Legislature to investigate numerous cases of Chinese killed by tax collectors engaging in overzealous enforcement and a bit of violent free enterprise for themselves.

The denial of government participation, the lack of voting powers, led to an 1855 "head tax" of $50 on Chinese. Then came a "police tax" in 1862 on Mongolians who had not already paid a miner's tax and who were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

It is obvious that for any racial group to be of significant stability and influence, it must be economically strong and independent.

The ease with which oppressive acts were instigated did not go unchallenged. With the help of others, a number of the more outrageous laws were defied and successfully controverted.

One famous case involved a laundryman who challenged a San Francisco ordinance which required all laundries to have a license for fire safety. The City officials, however, refused to issue any business licenses to any Chinese laundries even though they met all safety requirements. With the help of counsel the law was challenged by a Mr. Yick Wo, and the United States Supreme Court ruled that, though the law was proper, its enforcement was unequal, unjust and improper. It denied equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the United States Constitution. The case of *Yick Wo* vs *Hopkins* is still the leading case on equal protection of the law.

The Alien Land Law of California enacted in 1906 deprived Asians of the right to own land. That law was not successfully challenged until 1953. The property entanglements spawned by the Chinese who sought to evade those laws will continue to make many a lawyer wealthy trying to unscramble some of those deeds.

In the 1870's, California added a constitutional provision which prohibited the employment of Chinese by any corporation or by any state or local government. The law was used to harass Chinese, drive them from agricultural camps, from private industries, and from any public employment. Those provisions remained in the California Constitution until 1944.

The further isolation was enforced in the segregation laws in public schools. As early as 1860, the California Legislature declared that "Negroes, Mongolians, and Indians shall not be admitted into the public schools" but that separate schools might be established for their education. Thus began the first "separate but equal" rules. The Legislature liberalized this policy in 1866 by providing that the restriction applied only to Negro, Mongolian, or Indian children "not living under the care of white persons," and that children not so cared for "whose education can be provided for in no other way" (e.g., by separate school) could attend a school for white children, *if* the school trustees approved and *if* a majority of the white parents did not object.

One of the first Federal actions contesting California's school segregation law was *Wong Him* vs *Callahan*, in which Wong Him a Chinese citizen child, was unsuccessful in his attempt to get a federal injunction allowing him to enter the Clement Grammar School in San Francisco. Since there was a "separate school exclusively for Chinese children which the complainant can attend and which was not alleged to be unequal," the court applied the rule that "it is well settled that the State has the right to provide separate schools for the children of different races. Such action is not forbidden by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, provided the schools so established make no discrimination in the educational facilities which they afford." From 1885 to 1947, California's declared policy was to permit local school districts to establish separate schools for children of Mongolian or Chinese descent.

California's history is not lacking in incidents arising out of segregation in the schools. But that is yet another subject.

From 1870 to 1890, Chinese were successfully taking large quantities of fish, shrimp and abalone from California waters. They were the most efficient and effective in developing the California fishing industries. Their equipment was better than any of their competitors. An 1890 law barred Chinese junks as "alien vessels."

Another ridiculous law prohibited intermarriage of the races. Identifying the "races" and what was a "mixed marriage" resulted in some weird interpretations. The miscegenation law further isolated the Chinese. That law was on the books in California until 1953 when it was declared a violation of the freedom of religion and a denial of due process.

In earlier years, Chinese women were banned from entering the United States. The Exclusion laws made it impossible for thousands of Chinese males who had been some of the major builders of the American West to establish a normal family life. If Chinese men wanted to have families, it meant returning to China. To depart and return easily, thousands of Chinese in the United States did just what other 1880 immigrants did – they claimed birth in the United States. They then went to China, married and often had children. The courts ruled that a child born abroad to a United States citizen held nationality by birth. This meant that children born abroad were United States citizens and could come to the United States even though their mothers were excluded. Inevitably, such unfair laws were circumvented, and the government was a contributor to the circumvention for enacting such harsh laws.

But this increased Chinese isolation. Naturally there would be great reluctance to record or even discuss family history for fear or embarassment of unwanted disclosures. These would often be followed by threats of deportation.

The Chinese family associations today can do a great service by gathering and recording this family history. Much of this is locked in the memories of aged Chinese elders which will in time be lost forever unless recorded.

The oppressive laws are now history. One by one, the laws were struck down. It was a difficult struggle. But laws are dynamic – meaningful social change can, and did, come about by lawful means, even though the bad laws delayed the progress of the Chinese. These changes show the strength and vitality of our constitutional system and its principles – the guarantees of "due process," of "equal protection" and a dedication to the goals of the Constitution.

Those brave pioneering Chinese who preceded us, could have brought about many of these changes sooner had they moved more rapidly toward involvement in the governmental process. For example had they more aggressively followed up on the *Yick Wo* vs *Hopkin* case in the 1880's with other challenges to oppressive laws, the Supreme Court may well have had the opportunity to right other wrongs. Those pioneers blazed a trail. They also presented a challenge, that each generation improve on those before them.

Correction of social evils must continue.

Occasionally a wrong is righted only after many years. Last Wednesday (July 9, 1975) there was conducted in my court a "hearing" to examine the 1905 case of Chief George Wittman, the only Chief of Police of San Francisco who was fired from office. The dismissal was allegedly for "neglect of duty" when during three weeks out of a five year career, the Chief supposedly failed to suppress gambling in Chinatown. The facts showed that the Chief was an innocent victim of an overzealous campaign aimed at Mayor Schmitz and Abe Ruef. Coincidentally, there was a devious plan to drive the Chinese out of the Chinatown area, and to relocate them in Hunter's Point. There were elaborate plans for resettlement which would also allow some real estate speculators to greatly profit from the sale of downtown properties. The unproved gambling and bribery charges were part of the overall scheme.

Chief Wittman's record together with other facts were brought to light with the help of the City Librarian Kevin Starr and the City Archivist Gladys Hansen (who both spoke at this conference yesterday) and several San Francisco historians and civic personalities.

After a presentation, the "court" mandated the Police Commission to correct the records. There were no grounds for the dismissal of the Chief. The San Francisco Library will have a 1975 "judgment" from me setting the record straight.

This 1975 proceeding may be a matter of little historical significance. But it brings to light in 1975 that an innocent official was in part a victim of an overzealous racist campaign.

Hearings such as these need to be held to remove a stigma as well as to remind us not to allow racial prejudice to repeat.

Today Chinese-Americans are becoming a part of the mainstream of America. Some would say that the Chinese have "made it." We still have not involved ourselves in sufficent numbers in the civic and governmental process. Those who have become a part of the mainstream have a duty to not let the harsh practices and the harassment of the past reoccur. That duty is owed to any who are oppressed – no matter what race. There are many Chinese-Americans who have not been accorded the same opportunities for advancement. There are many yet whose lot has not improved much beyond their immigrant forefathers.

Poverty among us, substandard conditions or underemployment, reflects on all of us. It restricts our own development. It affects us as a matter of cultural pride or in some cases for the lack of it.

The limited influence of Chinese in the United States is not due solely to economic recessions and the transgressions of others. Many of the early Chinese considered themselves merely sojourners, to earn sufficient money and then return to China for a life of comfort and ease. Such thought limited our own developments.

Then too, the Chinese may not have been as aggressive in the area of civil rights as they should have been. One of the first civil rights groups was the Chinese-American Citizens Alliance, formed originally as a chapter of the Native Sons of the Golden West in 1895. In time their goals increasingly emphasized efforts to oppose discrimination, to gain civil rights and to better the lot of Chinese in America. The Native Sons Chapter was not the best vehicle for that purpose and in 1904, the Chinese Chapter separated and later incorporated as the Chinese-American Citizens Alliance in 1912.

The CACA's composition was of American citizens of Chinese descent. Their aims and purposes were to better their community life in the United States.

Y. C. Hong in his "History of the CACA" quoted the prophecy in the Daily Alta California of May 12, 1852 that "the China Boys will yet vote at the same polls, study in the same schools and bow at the same altar as our countrymen." Using that as its goal, the CACA fought for equal civil rights, better educational opportunities and for a voice in the community. The Citizens Alliance, with 14 Chapters throughout the United States, continues to direct its interest on social issues that affects the Chinese in the United States.

Unfortunately, the CACA has not been the strong civil rights organization on the national scale that speaks authoritatively for the Chinese. There is yet no national Chinese organization that commands that authority or respect. It may be claimed that there is a void in terms of a national leadership organization.

While there are many local organizations and civic groups which promote the interest of Chinese-Americans, their spheres of influence are similarly local.

The strong tight-knit family traditions have fostered self reliance. Those traditions are a source of strength and discipline. Yet they also have fostered rivalries and jealousies. For example, the Six Companies which claims to represent Chinatown's district associations omits three major associations because of old world rivalries. Family traditions also have limited development of expanded and more sophisticated business ventures. Only recently has Chinese-American business enterprises embraced larger segments of the community. The old Asian traditions of employment, almost pre-industrial revolution master-servant relationships, have impeded the development of more modern collective bargaining rights. These have tended to hold down employment opportunities for other Chinese. This breeds the poor conditions that result in acts that mars the community and hence reduces our impact on the community.

We have let ourselves waste a great deal of our energies in disputes of the old world. Pro-nationalist, pro-imperialist or alliance with the People's Republic of China should only be of academic interest.

Our effect on the history of the United States will be infinitely greater if we not allow ourselves to be overly involved in international politics. Sure we should have an interest in Chinese everywhere and in the rich cultural heritage we share. We want to identify the best of our own backgrounds and preserve it. But don't let these internal conflicts impede our influence here in the United States.

Chinese-Americans number only ½ million in a nation of 220 million. There are 2 million Asian-Americans, and frankly to the eyes and minds of many non-Asians, Asians are combined together as a single group. Indeed we share a common bond. The differences between Chinese and Japanese-Americans are minor. Same with respect to Koreans, Southeast Asians, Filipinos and those from the Pacific Basin.

Look back into the history of California. The Alien land laws, the separate but equal schools for Orientals, the general treatment of Asians. Generally we are all identified together. Even today as we face the problem of settlement of Vietnam refugees in the United States the distinction is blurred. A California Congressman in 1975 is quoted as saying that his constituents are complaining that "Damn it, we have too many Orientals already."

I say, let's unite and increase our influence.

Asian-Americans have worked their way into just about every occupation and every aspect of America's economic life, many achieving distinction. A high percentage of Asians, 8% are self-employed – more than any other minority group in this country as business owners and operators. A higher proportion of Asians have completed college than the average non-Asian American. These high educational attainments are testimony to their own determination and to America's increased tolerance. More than 20% of Asians over 25 years old have completed four or more years of college as compared to only 11% of all other Americans over 25. Our potential power is abundant.

Our political and social influence can be greater, if Asians were united. There have been many instances when common purposes and goals have united the Asian communities. Fair housing, bilingual education, fair employment, and immigration reform legislation are examples. But when these single goals are reached or when a social crisis recedes or ends, the unity tends to similarly recede.

Should the Asian influence or Chinese influence be any different or separate from the conduct of social or economic life of the rest of the nation? The answer may be that we seek not separate influence – but a retention of ethnic identity and recognition.

It is important to identify our history and to currently register and chronicle those achievements, advancements and even our failures. This is the richness of United States history. It is the identification and blending of the diverse efforts and influences of all the elements of our nation that has made it great. The beauty of America is its many individual groups, each different from the other. Each ultimately fulfilling its potential of life, liberty and happiness. Indeed, that is what America is all about.

It is most appropriate that we learn from the past, if only to prove we are worthy of it. Thank you.

9:45-10:45 a.m.

#7 – IMAGES OF THE CHINESE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

Chairman: Him Mark Lai, *Chinese Historical Society of America*

TEXTBOOK DISTORTIONS AND HISTORICAL REALITIES

By

CONNIE YOUNG YU

Chinese American history has been either ignored, distorted, or at best, sketchily mentioned in textbooks. Chinese Americans, growing up in California, which has such a large Asian population, have learned little or nothing about their own people in the classroom. Non-Chinese have acquired prejudice and ethnocentricity from textbook distortions. Only recently have textbooks given any consideration to Chinese Americans and other minorities. Unfortunately, these efforts have been largely misguided.

Often when Chinese are mentioned in textbooks it is with a condescending, patronizing approach. For example, this inclusion in a State textbook, BUILDERS OF CALIFORNIA COMMUNITIES, the only Asian mentioned, Ng Poon Chew, is described in this manner:

> "Ng Poon Chew was such a funny and good speaker that people called him 'the Chinese Mark Twain'."

Minority leaders are usually referred to as "the Washingtons" of their people, or the "Lincolns" without introducing them as original individuals of America. This story of Ng Poon Chew distorts the truth about other Chinese:

> "In those days, most Chinese did not plan to stay in California to work. They hoped to return to China. So they did not learn American ways. They did not give up wearing Chinese clothes. They kept their pigtails, or queues."

The child reading this learns to think of Chinese as strange and "clannish," un-American unless they learn to give up their culture and assimilate. Instead of describing the struggles of Chinese immigrants in a society which denied them equal rights, this book depicts the Chinese as totally uninterested in joining American life.

In contrast, Chew is described by the textbook as different from most Chinese:

> "Ng Poon Chew was a bright, hard-working fellow. He wanted to stay in California. He wanted to make something of himself. He went to

night school. There he learned to speak English well. He wore American clothes. He cut off his pigtail. He became a Christian."

Instead of showing how Chew was involved in the Chinese community and in the fight to repeal unfair immigration and civil laws against his people, the book depicts him as a Chinese who succeeded because he learned the ways of the white man.

Here are some other examples of misconceptions, distortions and omissions from newly published textbooks currently up for adoption.

> (A series of slides was presented to the audience showing pages from textbooks: (1) A textbook title page which shows all types of people – white, black, red, brown, but no Asians. (2) A textbook page which says the Chinese exclusion law lasted only ten years. (3) A page on immigration which only mentions Europeans. (3) Another which says that all immigrants had the same opportunities. (4) A reference to citizenship being available to all in the 19th century without mentioning restrictions against Asians. (5-8) A story on the "Oriental" school in San Francisco that distorts the truth. (8-10) Illustrations that are demeaning and insulting to Asians.)

We should be familiar with such textbook writing because it hasn't changed much since we were in public school, and we all have been affected by it. Myths and misconceptions in textbooks have been drummed into our heads and are very difficult to shake. We have been thoroughly indoctrinated in one perspective of America. We all studied U.S. history from the narrow point of view that everything began on the East Coast and spread Westward: Plymouth Rock, the Thirteen Colonies, the Louisiana Purchase, Mexican concessions and then – California becomes a state. Only recently and as an afterthought, ethnic history is tacked on, as an appendage, not an integral part of American history. The history students learn is based on the premise that civilization on this continent began with the conquest of America by white men, that nothing worthwhile occurred on this continent before that time.

Minority history is merely a concession. In 1964 the California Curriculum Commission adopted its guidelines for "References to ethnic and cultural minorities in Textbooks in accordance with the Senate Concurrent Resolution of 1962." "Textbooks must be free of bias and prejudice and, in fulfillment of this aim, must accurately portray the participation of minority groups in American life. The treatment of content must be consistent with the results of authoritative research . . . also the content of books should help pupils to resist all attempts at stereotyping, and thus enable students to avoid forming unfounded, unfavorable impressions of any group or individual."

We know this law has been continually broken. Our children continue to suffer ridicule stemming from distortions about Chinese Americans. Students still go through school without learning the truth about Chinese Americans and other minorities. Even in a conference such as this, we hear speakers – writers of textbooks or potential writers of textbooks – perpetuating misconceptions: that the Chinese have always been passive, that they were sojourners until 1949, that they succeed because they don't rock the boat. We should be sick of the word "contribution" in reference to our history, the concept that we gained acceptance by pay-offs of non-striking labor, free agricultural advice and Bing cherries. All that the Chinese have done that we are proud of should be viewed as *achievements*. And particularly at this time when we are celebrating the Bicentennial of Independence, we should commemorate the decades of struggle against oppressive, discriminatory laws, that in true revolutionary spirit Chinese fought for their rights in the courts, thereby strengthening the Constitution for all Americans.

We must remember that as early as 1859 Chinese petitioned to attend public schools but were denied. Chinese men and women continually fought in the courts to become naturalized citizens. That throughout our history Chinese resisted being colonized in this country. Textbooks should mention that in 1862 a Chinese resident named Lin Sing brought action to the Supreme Court of California to recover the sum of five dollars, two months of the poll tax levied on aliens, and won his case, thereby setting a precedent for all aliens. That in 1880 a laundryman named Yick Wo won the right to operate his laundry against a discriminatory ordinance, taking his case all the way to the Federal Supreme Court. 19th century law books are filled with court cases involving Chinese fighting for their rights. And into the Twentieth Century this resistance continued. In 1925 200 Chinese detained on Angel Island Immigration Station rose up in rebellion against corruption and horrendous conditions and had to be quelled by troops with fixed bayonets. Chinese were active in the labor struggles of the '30s and '40s and now we see Chinese on the picket lines opposing discrimination, unjust wages and police brutality.

We can tell the story ourselves. We have our own writers with the consciousness of our true history. Textbooks should include the works of Chinese American writers, such as those of the anthology *AIIEEEEE*. *YARDBIRD READER*, vol. III and *LONGTIME CALIFORN'*.

Textbooks must continue to discuss the ideas of the American revolution as it must relate to all minorities. The fact that Americans fought a revolution against the economic and political power concentrated into the hands of a few is as meaningful to Chinese Americans of the 1970s as it was to the early colonialists.

Finally Chinese American history must be made a dynamic, integral part of American history and culture, as relevant to all Americans as it is to us. The task begins by realizing it ourselves.

ETHNOCENTRIC TEXTBOOKS AND PERCEPTIONS OF CULTURE: THE CASE FOR THE CHINESE-AMERICANS

By

ALBERT H. YEE

As a fourth-generation Californian, I was educated in this State. In California public schools, I experienced attitudes, much of which my children still encounter, that seemed highly misinformed and prejudicial. As I entered their classes for the first time, some teachers would frown and make me feel unwelcome from the beginning. Often, they would say something such as, "Now I can have that unit on China." You cannot believe how many times I had to teach everyone in classes how to use chopsticks. One of my sixth-grade teachers uttered remarks such as, "Some people with dark skins don't think they need to wash themselves." Besides myself, that class included one other possible referent, a Mexican-American fellow. I do not know if she was talking about him or me, but I surely did not feel comfortable nor did I understand her attitude. She would shake and scold the two of us on any pretext, it seemed. Little was learned I was so conscious of her domineering presence. I remember being absorbed with having to be so conscious of her lest she grab me for a shaking (she put me within arm's reach of her desk) that I watched her bulbous nose throughout the day. Focusing upon the teacher's big nose was partly a point of relative distance and direction, but that nose was fascinating in and of itself. Heavily powdered in the first hour, I was fascinated in watching its evolution through the day as the powder faded and the pores grew increasingly prominent. Teacher behavior during my youth frightened me, though several seemed genuinely helpful and understanding.

In California schools, I read statements such as this in our textbooks: "The best American citizens have come from Ireland, Scotland and England." That assertion was supported by showing how many presidents, congressmen, and senators had come from such heritage; which is a fact you cannot argue over. However, the fact does not satisfy the generalization which follows and raises other improper and false generalizations. It allows no consideration for people like me and many others in terms of being American. And you still hear this assertion when the class is in a turmoil, when pupils are not behaving and the teacher does not know what to do, I suppose and says, "This is not a Chinese classroom!" Hearing that in classes, I wondered why a Chinese classroom meant disorder and chaos? I went to Chinese language school after public school and it was hardly like that at all.

There are many stereotypes, many mis-perceptions and many problems concerning self-identity, and self-concept. Thinking, as I do quite often, about Malcolm X's autobiography (1964), I recall how he described the disintegration of his family, mainly from outside influences. He said that as a youngster his view of the black people in Africa was of "naked savages, cannibals, monkeys and tigers and steaming jungles (p. 7)" and this was his youthful image of his own heritage. That image was not to change much until he was about 23 and that only through his own insatiable readings at Norfolk Prison Colony. Fortunately, that prison had been donated an excellent library. For that period, Malcolm X wrote:

> I had never forgotten how when my class, me and all of those whites, had studied seventh-grade United States history back in Mason, the history of the Negro had been covered in one paragraph, and the teacher had gotten a big laugh with his joke, "Negroes' feet are so big that when they walk, they leave a hole in the ground." . . .
>
> You can hardly show me a black adult in America—or a white one, for that matter—who knows from the history books anything like the truth of the "glorious history of the black man." I took special pains to hunt in the library for books that would inform me on details about black history (p. 174).

And so Malcolm X discovered his true heritage of which he could have great pride. He also discovered cultural ethnocentrism in what Europeans and Americans stress as Western Culture. For example, he pointed out the nation's common ignorance of Chinese history and from the Chinese point of view, historical causes for hatred and tension—a history which reinforced China's helplessness and despair (p. 177-178).

Stereotypes and Misperceptions of the Chinese: How Prejudice Against Minorities Are Perpetuated in America

Let me illustrate several points about American stereotypes and misperceptions of the Chinese and how they feed back to harm the self-identity of Chinese-Americans. From what I heard and learned in school, two things tended to frighten me about my heritage. One of them was there are so many of us Chinese. When you talk about the Chinese, they always say how many there are as if it was bad and fearsome. When you read the 15th and newest edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, the first paragraph on China says it is the most populous nation in the world. That is a true fact, but why do we make so much of it alone? What other relevant facts might Americans be aware of in respect to the Chinese? As a people, the Chinese go back over 40 centuries and all things being relative, the Chinese population can be viewed as surprisingly low. It would be more realistic to view China as a continental whole and compare that as an historical arena to Europe. In doing so, we see that the rise of the Greek city-states occurred about 23 centuries ago, Jesus Christ lived 20 centuries ago, and that the Norman Conquest of England happened nine centuries ago in 1066. It is interesting to note that 25 centuries ago the lives of Socrates and Confucius overlapped when the former was a lad of nine the year Confucius died (c. 479 B.C.), and that Caesar conquered the barbarians of northern Europe 20 centuries ago (50 B.C.), over 400 years after China's philosophic schools of thought began.

In population growth, we can see that from 1662 to today, a period of only a bit more than three centuries, Europe's population increased from 100 million to 650 million. From 1801 to 1901, the English more than tripled their population from 11 million to 38 million and the Germans more than doubled from 25 million to 56 million. Against those comparative facts, the Chinese may be viewed as relatively poor producers over 40-50 centuries. Another point in terms of relativity, the area of continental United States had an Indian population of about 849 thousand (Mooney, 1928) at the first of the 18th century which was diminished through warfare and cruel abuse to a Census count of 237,196 by 1900. The 1970 Census found almost 800 thousand American Indians and a total national population of over 203 million. As we celebrate our bicentennial year in 1976, should we concentrate upon the nation's population and its growth as a prominent fact as is so incessantly done for China. Perhaps we should shown concern, for the United States, with less than six percent of the world's population consumes over 30% of the world's energy and wastes 50% of the food that is purchased. I doubt if 100 or even 200 Chinese use as much fuel and other natural resources as an average American does. At good times, about 2,000 calories a day more than satisfies an average Chinese while we Americans are often not satisfied with 3,500. The question is, will the world continue to tolerate our standard of living? Our recent experiences with foreign oil and other natural resources indicate significant changes at present and in the future. So the gross population of the Chinese as a fact for generalization could have been better taught to me and my classmates.

Another point of instruction that frightened me was the emphasis upon the poverty of the Chinese in the 20th century. Textbooks show the familiar picture of two boys paddle-wheeling water from the ditch up to rice patties. Instruction emphasized the deprivation, the poverty of the Chinese people, their crowdedness, their fatalistic and age-old suffering—which all summed up to say that the Chinese were less than human. Problems of population and poverty fit so well into distasteful generalizations. The truth is that the Chinese have suffered great deprivation, but it is crucial to ask, what were their options and the causes for their past problems? Why did the textbooks neglect the causes brought about by imperialism? I wish I could give you a slide report on the People's Republic of China to show how the Chinese themselves have up-lifted their human condition and overcome the problems with poverty.

Now let us examine some of the causes for China's ills. Our textbooks do not cover the Opium War of 1838-1842. The Chinese government said that it did not want opium sold in China, because of its terrible harm and danger. Yet the English, who wished to profit from the opium they grew in India, callously decided to thrust opium upon the Chinese through military means. After the Chinese dumped 6 million dollars of opium into the Pearl River at

Canton, British troops marched into China. In contrast to the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolutionary War, the Chinese lost their war for independence and as a consequence, lost many, many rights. For instance, Chinese goods leaving China were taxed and foreign goods entering China came in duty-free. Armies of different countries carved out and ruled their own territories; foreigners established their own courts and even post offices on Chinese soil. Shanghai was a foreign city when it was infamous as the sin city of the world. Our textbooks should cover the Opium War. But the stereotype makes the Chinese appear to be lovers of opium.

For another example, very few Americans know that China sent over 200 thousand workers to Europe to help the Allied cause in the first World War. This was the Chinese leaders' hope of obtaining some protection, some help from countries such as the United States which had asked for China's aid. From school, all of us know something about President Wilson and the Versailles treaty. Yet few Americans know and few, if any textbooks say that the treaty did not return German-held territories in China back to the Chinese. The Versailles leaders repaid China by giving her lands to Japan. The Chinese representatives to Versailles returned to Peking and their report began the year-long May 4th Movement against foreigners, especially Japan. The Chinese people know about the May 4th Movement, but very few Americans know about it, and we must ask why. Americans should know because many Chinese militant leaders said at that period that the Americans, the English, and all foreigners could not be trusted and that they would have to bring about change through their own means. Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung were among those young militant leaders. Unless you know such facts, you cannot understand the Sino-American tensions and mistrust since 1919. All of which relate to further conquest by the Japanese—Manchuria in 1931 and general war in 1937, the ineptness and failure of the League of Nations and the inevitable coming of WW II.

Thus, simplex and sensational attention to China's population and poverty shamed and frightened me as a child. However, after I learned more about the true circumstances and facts, I felt a sense of pride and began to be concerned about how we could overcome America's prejudices toward the Chinese.

Yellow peril is a slogan of hatred in the USA that I have even heard used in court for no reason than to raise a specter of fear. Under the fear of the Yellow peril, Chinese immigrants that came to California in the 19th century suffered open brutality as well as oppression from municipal and state laws that seem similar to the treatment of Blacks and Chicanos. Mark Twain and others spoke highly of the industry, honesty, and sobriety of the Chinese but caught between the claims of unemployed whites and their tenuous social status during hard times, the Chinese have been chastised for taking low wages. But why did those who force slave standards upon them go without criticism? Who really does fit the role of victim and oppressor? Under the logic of such chastisement, Blacks should have been attacked for being slaves. Ironically, Leland Stanford and others attacked the Chinese for taking terms that they controlled completely. According to scholars who have specialized in frontier history, the Chinese in the first 50 years of their residence in America suffered one of the most outrageous attacks on a whole people that has ever been perpetrated. For reasons contrary to their merit, Africans and Chinese were the only people Americans barred from immigration by name and law in the 19th century and only the Chinese in the 20th century.

In fact, we are not even Chinese in California, we're Indians. Few people know that California's Supreme Court in 1854 dealt with a case where a free white citizen was convicted of murder on the testimony of a Chinese man (People *vs.* Hall, 1854). The Supreme Court decided that there are only three kinds of people in this world, black, white, and Indian. According to Judge Harry W. Low of San Francisco (1974), it was rationalized that Columbus landed in the New World in his attempt to find the Orient. Columbus thought the West Indies were lands of the Chinese Sea because the Indians seemed to be Chinese. Thus, it was logical for the Supreme Court of California to assert that Indians meant Asians and so the Chinese must be Indians and Indians having no rights in court, the testimony of the Chinese witness could not stand.

In contrast, Mark Twain wrote the following as a reporter for the *Territorial Enterprise* in Virginia City, Nevada:

> Of course there was a large Chinese population . . . it is the case with every town and city on the Pacific coast. They are a harmless race when white men either let them alone or treat them no worse than dogs; in fact, they are almost entirely harmless anyhow, for they seldom think of resenting the vilest insults or the cruelest injuries. They are quiet, peaceable, tractable, free from drunkenness, and they are as industrious as the day is long. A disorderly Chinaman is rare and a lazy one does not exist. So long as a Chinaman has strength to use his hands he needs no support from anybody; white men often complain of want of work, but a Chinaman offers no such complaint; he always manages to find something to do. He is a great convenience to everybody—even to the worst class of white men, for he bears the most of their sins, suffering fines for their petty thefts, imprisonment for their robberies, and death for their murders. Any white man can swear a Chinaman's life away in the courts, but no Chinaman can testify against a white man. Ours is the "land of the free"—nobody denies that—nobody challenges it. (Maybe it is because we won't let other people testify.) . . .
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> In California he (the Chinese) gets a living out of old mining claims that white men have abandoned as exhausted and worthless—and then the officers come down on him once a month with an exorbitant swindle to which the legislature has given the broad, general name of "foreign" mining tax, but it is usually inflicted on no foreigners

> but Chinamen. This swindle has in some cases been repeated once or twice on the same victim in the course of the same month—but the public treasury was not additionally enriched by it, probably (Clemens, 1880, p. 391).

Textbooks: Their Ethnocentrism and Neglect of American Minorities Through the Chinese Experience

Let us examine two textbooks for illustration of what I have been suggesting we abhor and overcome. Many teachers and students are familiar with the State-adopted textbook titled, *Exploring the Old World.* It has a picture of Marco Polo on the cover showing the Venetian going through a mountain pass; a caption says, "Marco Polo on his way to China, 1275." Going into this book, you find very little about China. In fact, it is more about the Near East, Greece, Rome, and Europe. The text has a whole section titled, "Where Our Civilization Began." And we learn from its reading that our civilization originated in those places and only those places. I do not know if the cover was an unintended error, but the contents of the book have little to do with China, Africa and other places of the world. The book does have quite a bit on the explorers and the discovery period. If Columbus saw this textbook and other textbooks we have on the explorers, he would probably say you give too much attention to the Santa Maria and to me. You should say much more about where we are trying to go and why? We are familiar with those few lines the textbooks use to answer those questions. Something like this: "They wanted to find a new route to Old Cathay where they needed to go to get the spices and they wanted to get more silk and other things." But they do not go into the civilization of Old Cathay. And Vasa DeGama, Henry Hudson, Sir Francis Drake and all those great people probably would say the same. Walter T. Swingle (1975, p. 6), formerly of the Library of Congress and the Department of Agriculture wrote after extensive study of Chinese agriculture:

> Few Americans realize that our chief agricultural creditor is China. We are indebted to the Chinese not only for the best varieties of oranges which we grow but also for many other fruits and vegetables grown commercially in the United States. The soy bean whose extraordinary food values is now at last beginning to be appreciated throughout this country, was one of the five sacred grains believed to have been given the Chinese people by the semi-mythical Emperor Shen-nung . . . about the 29th century B.C. Rice, wheat, proso (millet), barley, the other four of the five sacred "cereals," were grown in China many centuries before they were known in Europe; and the same can be said of many vegetables that we commonly regard as European . . . As a matter of fact, all of our cereals except maze, sorghum and some forms of oats originated in Asia. Almost all of our crops are Asian plants. All of our common temperate-zone fruit trees, except the pecan and the native persimmon, came from Asia, and all citrus fruits too. Horses, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats,

hogs and chickens – are all Asiatic animals. Our debt to Asia is enormous.

A person American textbooks might identify, especially in California and Florida, would be the name, Lue Gim-gong. Lue was the first and only one to receive the Wilder medal from the American Pomological Society and the Department of Agriculture and that was in 1911. In 1888 Lue responded to crop failures in Florida and evolved a more economical and hardy type of orange and that was the genesis for the orange that we have today. Using a phrase I have repeated several times above, few Americans know Mr. Lue's name. Except for the medal, he obtained no profit from his discovery. I wonder why the orange industry of this country does not at least honor his memory.

Let us consider another textbook which is quite popular today–*Quest for Liberty*. *Quest* does a better job than the other one. It does cover the Chinese immigrants and many of their problems, the injustices, but it "misses the boat" at least once. It does not mention Yick Wo. And who was the man? The story concerned the most famous legal case involving Chinese discrimination, Yick Wo *vs.* Hopkins in 1885, a legal case that went all the way through the U.S. Supreme Court. Yick Wo was a San Francisco laundry man who challenged an ordinance which required fire-safety licenses for laundrymen. However, the law was only enforced upon the city's 150 Chinese laundries and licenses were not required of the 170 white laundrymen. After a long legal process, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that even though the ordinance was proper its discriminatory enforcement was unjust. Today, the case of the Chinese laundryman remains our country's leading example of equal protection under the law. You would think a book titled *Quest for Liberty* would mention it. Though less well-known many other laws directed against the Chinese were far more abusive and long-standing (Low, 1974). The California Constitution prevented Chinese from employment by any corporation and state or local government from 1870 to 1944 when the prohibitive provision was finally removed. Until their successful challenge in 1953, the Alien Land Acts of 1906 prevented Asians not eligible for citizenship from owning land. Up to 1953, the law prohibiting the marriage of Chinese to whites was strictly enforced. Until 1947, California law encouraged the establishment of separate schools for Asian-American children. Interestingly, to protect the rights of long-haired school boys in recent times, there has been referral to the overthrow of another San Francisco ordinance that required that Chinese men cut their pigtails and wear certain clothing.

Comprehensive Studies of Textbooks

Several years ago, I conducted a content analysis study of 300 social studies textbooks. I found that about 75% of the 300 texts made no mention of the Chinese at all. Of the remaining 76, 53 gave token representation with a picture of an Asian, often in an interracial group of Americans, and/or one or two lines mentioning urban Chinatowns (e.g., "Chinatowns preserve interesting Oriental customs; San Francisco's is a must stop for visitors to the lovely city by the Golden Gate"), several lines about Chinese railroad workers, the laundry and culinary skills of Chinese people, or their relation to China where their ancestors first developed silk.

Twenty-three textbooks devoted several paragraphs and some even gave several pages to the Chinese. Such coverage, however, cannot overcome superficiality and misrepresentation. In discussions of the railroad period, Leland Stanford and his missing the golden spike with the silver sledge received more historical emphasis than the engineering feats and the workers. Several books provided elaborate coverage that seemed prejudicial and sensational in choice and orientation. Perhaps the most comprehensive and objective summary that could be packed into two pages is found in Frost's (1969) *A History of the USA*. Caughery's (1966) *Land of the Free* and Seaberg's (1966) *The Pioneer vs. the Wilderness* provide better than average coverages of the Chinese role in constructing the transcontinental railroad and discrimination against them in the 19th century.

Follow-up content analysis was used to see how four groups—American Indians, blacks, Asians, and Chicanos—were treated in terms of historical content and balance, illustrations, and teachers' guides. The findings indicated a significant lack of comprehensive and accurate representation of all four cultural ethnic groups. Chicanos and Asians barely received any attention at all. Pre-1865 history received the greatest attention and space by far, to the general neglect of modern history. Consequently, little or no attention was provided historical and social aspects of the four minority groups to help students understand modern events and social issues. What illustrations and written texts were provided them tended to be misleading and stereotypic.

Raise the Level of Generalization: History for and of All Americans

Somehow in this country, there has been a peculiar blend of naive simplicity, a dualism of favorability/unfavorability, and vicarious stereotypic references in the perceptions of white Americans toward the Chinese. A disparate relationship continues between reality and representation of the Chinese people in American society. Our textbooks typify the same myopic, ethnocentric view of what an American and a Chinese can be. Whatever an American is, can he or she possibly be someone like Charlie Chan, Anna May Wong, Kung Fu's Caine, Fu Manchu, Benson Fong, or Frank Chin? One of Bret Harte's "heathen Chinee," one of Pearl Buck's innumerable characters, or Mark Twain's Chinese miners? Architect I. M. Pei, novelist Han Suyin, Nobel Laureates T. D. Lee and C. N. Yang, California's Secretary of State, March Fong Eu, the highly publicized tong men and sing-song girls of bygone years, or the immigrant hoodlums of recent times? Confucius, Lao Tzu, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Hu Shih, or Sun Yat-sen? Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Chou En-lai, Anna Chennault, Mao Tse-tung, or Senator Hiram Fong? Laundryman, houseboy, grocer, restauranteur, teacher, doctor, engineer, or clerk? The answer is obviously all and none of them alone; because such a tremendously varied group of people cannot be characterized so simply, so blanketly. There are so many other relevant factors that make people real and human, factors most Americans are aware of but have not considered for Asians.

Some basic problems of social studies textbooks have been the low-level generalizations and concepts they teach about human events, values, and conditions, and their pretense at comprehensiveness. Besides misrepresentations and errors, the selected foci of concern are often so narrow or so broad that little transfer value to modern social issues is gained. Instead of arguing for reverse ethnocentrism and "yellow history" materials and courses as a final objective, I would suggest that the generalizations and concepts aimed for in social studies should be universally applicable and illustrated by a variety of examples. In such an approach, for example, conquest, war, and violence would not be glorified and presented as exemplary human behavior and problem solving. Thus the Alamo would not be portrayed as a chauvinistic spectacle of good versus bad groups. It would become the realistic human tragedy it was—where the highest military courage and human devotion to a cause were shown by both Mexicans and Texans, all dedicated and yet constrained by the force of circumstances to their common deadly fate. The consequences of that battle continue to be reflected in negative attitudes, which American textbooks and teachers continue to perpetuate. A comprehensive approach to that event and its participants would provide important learnings about the forces and background which brought it about and the consequences which followed. The Boxer Rebellion could be treated similarly and that would make a revealing study indeed, especially in contrast to Hollywood's "10 Days in Peking." Some would say that teachers and textbooks should not teach problems, especially those that suggest that the country has made mistakes. I would simply say to them that history is made out of great problems that are somehow resolved, for good and bad. So much as we would cover the Revolutionary War and WW II, we cannot neglect the contributions of all Americans and all significant influences that developed this great land. I have tried to show that neglecting the Chinese in textbooks makes for cultural ethnocentrism and minority abuse.

In conclusion, I will read what Ralph Linton (1936, p. 326-327) wrote to illustrate the borrowing of peoples from others and that all cultures, especially that of the United States, are indebted to others. Some of Linton's points are mistaken and many more examples can be added, but he makes the good point:

> Our solid American citizen awakens in a bed built on a pattern which originated in the Near East but which was modified in Northern Europe before it was transmitted to America. He throws back covers made from cotton, domesticated in India, or linen, domesticated in the Near East, or wool from sheep, also domesticated in the Near East, or silk, the use of which was discovered in China. All of these materials have been spun and woven by processes invented in the Near East. He slips into his moccasins, invented by the Indians of the

Eastern woodlands, and goes to the bathroom, whose fixtures are a mixture of European and American inventions, both of recent date. He takes off his pajamas, a garment invented in India, and washes with soap invented by the ancient Gauls. He then shaves, a masochistic rite which seems to have been derived from either Sumer or ancient Egypt.

Returning to the bedroom, he removes his clothes from a chair of southern European type and proceeds to dress. He puts on garments whose form originally derived from the skin clothing of the nomads of the Asiatic steppes, puts on shoes made from skins tanned by a process invented in ancient Egypt and cut to a pattern derived from the classical civilizations of the Mediterranean, and ties around his neck a strip of bright-colored cloth which is a vestigial survival of the shoulder shawls worn by the seventeenth-century Croatians. Before going out for breakfast he glances through the window, made of glass invented in Egypt, and if it is raining puts on overshoes made of rubber discovered by the Central American Indians and takes an umbrella, invented in southeastern Asia. Upon his head he puts a hat made of felt, a material invented in the Asiatic steppes. On his way to breakfast he stops to buy a paper, paying for it with coins, an ancient Lydian invention. At the restaurant a whole new series of borrowed elements confronts him. His plate is made of a form of pottery invented in China. His knife is of steel, an alloy first made in southern India, his fork a medieval Italian invention, and his spoon a derivative of a Roman original. He begins breakfast with an orange, originally from China, a canteloupe from Persia, or perhaps a piece of African watermelon. With this he has coffee, an Abyssinian plant, with cream and sugar. Both the domestication of cows and the idea of milking them originated in the Near East, while sugar was first made in India. After his fruit and first coffee he goes on to waffles, cakes made by a Scandinavian technique from wheat domesticated in Asia Minor. Over these he pours maple syrup, invented by the Indians of the Eastern woodlands. As a side dish he may have the egg of a species of bird domesticated in Indo-China, or thin strips of the flesh of an animal domesticated in Eastern Asia which have been salted and smoked by a process developed in northern Europe.

When our friend has finished eating he settles back to smoke, an American Indian habit, consuming a plant domesticated in Brazil in either a pipe, derived from the Indians of Virginia, or a cigarette, derived from Mexico. If he is hardy enough he may even attempt a cigar, transmitted to us from the Antilles by way of Spain. While smoking he reads the news of the day, imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites upon a material invented in China by a process invented in Germany. As he absorbs the accounts of foreign troubles he will, if he is a good conservative citizen, thank a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that he is 100 per cent American.

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FROM AH SIN TO KWAI CHANG

By

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INTRODUCTION

A prejudiced image of the Chinese is deeply entrenched in the minds of many Americans. Since the late 19th century, educational institutions, advertising and public relations agencies, popular magazines, novels, newspapers, radio, television, comic strips, plays, and movies have developed and reinforced stereotyped images of the Chinese which perpetuate hate and prejudice toward the Chinese people. The various American media, which are responsible for most of the distorted imagery, have projected images, for political, economic, social, or comical reasons, which have influenced Chinese-American history. There have been prejudiced attacks on the Chinese from cultural, social, economic, religious, physiological, and biological points of view, based on falsified "evidence" from pseudoscientific studies.

The publicity the Chinese received in the last century during the anti-Chinese campaigns set the stage for prejudice and discrimination in the present. Some of the most damaging stereotypes predominant today were developed in fiction and films, and most recently in nationwide advertising.

Chinese stereotypes fall into several easily definable categories. They are:

1) STOCK CHINESE: Chinese men have been portrayed as retarded, sadistic, slant eyed, buck toothed, big eared, effeminate, heathen, decrepit, hunched

over, mealy mouthed, clumsy characters. They were often shown in subservient occupations, such as cooks, laundrymen, and houseboys. They wore "coolie" dress and spoke in a barely intelligible mixture of Cantonese and pidgin-English.

2) Fu Manchu: One of the most vital factors in creating the stereotype of the mysterious and villainous Chinese has been a fictitious, made-in-America, creature named Dr. Fu Manchu. He was the villain of countless novels, movies, and comics and was the most evil, sinister, and dreaded man, complete with yellow skin and slanted eyes. The vivid image of Fu and the expressions associated with him; such as, "the most mysterious race, the Chinese," "the yellow menace," and "the enemy of the white race;" quickly became a slanderous stereotype of the Chinese as a people. Chinese have traditionally been characterized as sneaky, inscrutable, cunning, and criminally inclined. The Chinese were associated with evil, kidnapping children, eating rats, smoking opium, gambling, and the drug market.

3) China Doll: A China doll is an abstruse mixture of a "child-woman" and a "woman-child." She's a charming nymphet and an emotional chameleon who can be funny and prim, shy and playful. She is the epitome of femininity —petite and slender with a long, flowing cascade of midnight black hair; gentle; soft; quiet; and intoxicatingly beautiful. Almost a cliché of what a white man would like to find marooned with him, a China doll is "sexy, yet submissive, passionate, yet obedient." This dainty, almond-eyed beauty, with a complexion like peaches and cream, fulfills the fantasies of every oversexed male chauvinist. Due to actresses like Anna May Wong, Nancy Kwan, and France Nuyen, Chinese women are thought to be slinky, exotic, sex objects who fall head over heels for the charms of white males. The image of Susie Wong fulfilled the desires of every immature white man.

4) Confucius say . . . : If Chinese were not obsessed with trying to conquer the world or to master the English language, then they were burning incense and uttering words of fortune cookie wisdom. The Asians are the originators of Eastern mysticism, however, they are never allowed to exercise this power. White men like David Carradine on ABCs' "Kung Fu" become privy to the secret arts of the Orient. Charlie Chan was the best known example of "Oriental wisdom" in the movies and comics, but like all major Asian roles, Chan was played by a string of white actors.

5) Banzai Syndrome: In war movies, and especially comics, the bespectacled, squinty-eyed, buck-toothed Japanese soldier was a necessary staple. During World War II, Chinese actors were playing the roles of the evil Japanese. They jumped into machine-gun fire yelling "Banzai!" or committed hara-kiri at the slightest excuse. A typical scene was one in which a G.I., armed only with a machine gun, was left behind to stop the onslaught of Japanese troops. Of course, the Asian hordes all perished by mindlessly running directly into his line of fire, thus reinforcing the belief that Asian lives are cheap.

I will now present a chronological discussion of the above-mentioned racist images from 1857 to the present day.

Between 1857 and 1914, the stock or type Chinese character was conceived, developed, and extensively used in American plays. The earliest play containing a stock Chinese character was published in 1857. The play, "A Live Woman in the Mines," written by Alonzo Delano, immediately preceded the great influx of Chinese immigrants into California. The use of stock Chinese characters in *plays* ended in 1914, at the opening of World War I, the last play that used a stock Chinese being "A Man From Denver," by Frank Bernard. (NOTE: the stock Chinese character is still being used today in motion pictures and television.)

In the plays, the stock Chinese character was always portrayed by a white man. He wore "coolie" dress—dark blue or black, loose blouse and baggy trousers gathered at the ankles; a conical, straw hat; wooden sabots or cloth slippers. A necessary part of the costume was the queue—the longer the better. The white actors were made up to look like a so-called "typical Mongolian." The allegedly "typical Mongolian" features that were emphasized were slanted, almond shaped eyes, a small nose, yellow skin, and a small stature.

The actors spoke in a pidgin-English dialect. Many of their words ended in "ee;" such as, "washee" and "samee." Words containing an "r" or "th" were pronounced with an "l," and those containing a "d" were pronounced with a "t." Some examples were "rots of ruck" and "flied lice." Numerous words and phrases were frequently used; such as, "Mellican" for "American," "Allee samee" for "All the same," and "All lite" for "All right."

Other white actors ridiculed the Chinese religion by derisively jeering "heathen Chinee." White actors physically abused those who were posing as Chinese men by kicking them, pulling their queues, and threatening to cut off thier queues.

The primary function of the stock Chinese character in the plays of the late 19th century and early 20th century, was to provide comic relief and to establish local color in the mining and railroad scenes.

At the peak of the anti-Chinese furor, the greatest of all Chinese stereotypes, Fu Manchu, was created by Sax Rohmer. In 1913, this fictitious character became the villain of numerous novels. Fu Manchu was the "most diabolical, sinister, and all-around un-nice Oriental mastermind of all time." "Bald as a Chinese eggroll, with Satanic eyebrows that jutted upward and a mustache that made his mouth seem always to sneer, the robed Fu Manchu was a genius at devising the cruelest of tortures." He was the epitome of evil, for he dreamed of conquering Europe and America. His archenemies were Sir Nayland Smith of Scotland Yard, whose primary goal in life was to rid the earth of Fu Manchu, and his assistant, Dr. Petrie.

Rohmer's racist and slanderous phrases quickly aroused the fear of the "Yellow Peril." Some examples of his writings are:

> "... he lay at the mercy of this enemy of the white race, of this inhuman being who himself knew no mercy, of this man whose very genius was inspired by the cool, calculated cruelty of his race, of that race, which to this day disposes of hundreds, nay, thousands of its unwanted girl-children by the simple measure of throwing them down a well specially dedicated to the purpose."

> "We owe our lives, Petrie, to the national childishness of the Chinese! A race of ancestor worshippers is capable of anything ... "

> "... they were informed of an intimate knowledge of the dark and secret things of the East, of that mysterious East out of which Fu Manchu came, of that jungle of noxious things whose miasma had been wafted Westward with the implacable Chinaman."

> "... a man whose brown body glistened, unctuously, whose shaven head was apish low, whose bloodshot eyes were the eyes of a mad dog! His teeth, upper and lower were bared; they glistened, they gnashed, and a froth was on his lips."

Unfortunately, Rohmer's racism was not confined to the printed page. The Fu Manchu stories gained their greatest popularity when they were made into motion pictures in 1929. Fu Manchu and his archrivals starred in silent and talking motion pictures. The villain was portrayed by Warner Oland in "The Mysterious Fu Manchu" (1929), and by Boris Karloff in "The Mask of Fu Manchu" (1932).

In 1940, Republic Pictures produced a 15 chapter "cliffhanger" movie serial entitled "The Drums of Fu Manchu." Henry Brandon played Fu Manchu with extreme relish, gloating over his every new method of inflicting torture and death.

These movies all used the same devices to show their hateful image of the Chinese character and culture: "The mysterious Chinatown was suggested by a whole series of visual clichés—the ominous shadow of an Oriental figure thrown against a wall, secret panels which slide back to reveal an inscrutable Oriental face, the huge shadow of a hand with tapering fingers and long pointed fingernails poised menacingly, the raised dagger appearing suddenly and unexpectedly from between closed curtains." Most of the serial, "The Drums of Fu Manchu," was photographed in shadows, with the eeriest lighting possible falling upon Fu. Supernatural drums always announced Fu's appearance.

The sneaky, inscrutable, cunning figure of Fu Manchu also infiltrated the pulps of the early 1900's. The pulps, cheap thrill magazines that were the forerunners of all comics, created a fantasy world where the macabre image of Fu challenged white men's sanity and white women's virginity. The pulps played on the anxieties of young boys in puberty by presenting Fu Manchu as the arch-villain whose lust was only exceeded by his sadism.

The image of Fu Manchu in the motion pictures, novels, and comics built a completely prejudiced image in the minds of many Americans, most of them, unfortunately, were children.

The revival of the Fu Manchu series in 1965 was not successful. Christopher Lee (a British actor) played Fu in "The Face of Fu Manchu" (1965) and in "The Bride of Fu Manchu" (1966). The last two motion pictures involving Fu Manchu never gained the popularity of the original movie series of the 1930's and 1940's.

However, the image of Fu provided fertile material for comic book writers. Almost all superheroes of today pay homage to the descendants of Fu Manchu. They are constantly locked in mortal combat with diabolical Asians who still sadistically drool over white women and are obsessed with conquering the world.

A few years after the appearance of Fu Manchu, a new character, who was the opposite of the dreaded Fu, was born. Charlie Chan, the brainchild of Earl Derr Biggers, was a paternal, ingratiating, mealy mouthed, clumsy, effeminate detective. The audiences could immediately tell he was Chinese because he never used first person pronouns, "I," "me," or "we" in the presence of whites. His most frequently used idiom was "I humbly beg to disagree."

Chan solved his first crime in a silent motion picture serial, "House Without a Key." George Kuwa portrayed Chan. The series was supposedly based on the very first Charlie Chan novel written by Biggers. However, it could be more accurately described as an Allene-Ray-Walter Miller vehicle that happened to include the Asian detective in its cast of characters.

Five years later, a series was developed around Charlie Chan and his sons. Hollywood promotion claimed that Chan was a clever, Chinese detective who worked *with* white authority instead of against it. In the tradition of some 2100 feature films and stage productions with Chinese character leads, producers and casting directors made sure that no Chinese man ever played the role of Charlie Chan. Two Japanese played the role in the early days when the Chan part was so small it was at the small print end of the credits. But at the height of Chan's popularity, he was being played by a string of white actors.

Of all the white actors who ever portrayed Chan, only Warner Oland, Sidney Toler, and Roland Winters were acclaimed by white critics as being superb in their portrayals. According to Victor Sen Yung, Number Two Son, Toler was best as Chan, the detective; Oland was better as an Oriental; and Winters was the best in dialogue.

Keye Luke played the original Number One Son; Victor Sen Yung played

Number Two Son; and Benson Fong played Number Three Son.

Keye Luke spoke English in an accent good enough to be understood playing fools, converts to Catholicism, and Number One Son. Keye, who is still active on the post midnight talk shows doing his Lionel Barrymore imitation, still looks in his forties (although he's in his sixties) and now and then appears as a blind priest of Chinese mysticism who has overcome his handicap by reciting proverbs on ABC's "Kung Fu." For this role, he was nicknamed the "Barefoot Charlie Chan."

Victor Sen Yung, Number Two Son, was born in San Francisco Chinatown. He raised himself up through high school as a live-in houseboy for a white uptown family where he learned to speak English like he was born in Chicago, Illinois. As Chan's Americanized Number Two Son, Victor dressed in the latest white fads. He stared belligerently at white girls and spoke all kinds of American slang so ineptly that all America laughed.

A standard Chan plot was as follows: A crime, usually a murder, would be committed. Charlie Chan would be asked to investigate the case and he'd bring along one of his sons. After a lot of blundering around by Chan's son, Chan himself would use one of his unusual techniques to flush out the real culprit. Throughout the movie, between action scenes, Chan would spout forth some glib Oriental proverbs; such as, "Mind like parachute – function only when open" or "Bad alibi like dead fish – cannot stand the test of time." In the end, Chan would assemble all his suspects in one room and announce who the criminal was. Of course, the criminal would try to escape, but he would be apprehended by the local police.

NBC and Universal Studios prophesied Chan's second coming in the 1970's and sent NBC Vice President, David Tebet, out to look for an "Oriental actor who spoke English in an accent understandable to U.S. audiences." They did not cast an Asian in the role of Charlie Chan because they could not find one who had the charisma and star status of the classic Chans – Warner Oland and Sidney Toler, who were both dead, and Roland Winters, who retired by playing out the last days of his career as someone's grandfather in James Garner and Jerry Lewis movies.

NBC and Universal Studios preserved a white racist tradition by casting a white man for the Charlie Chan of the seventies. Ross Martin, a white actor known for his role on TV's "Wild, Wild West," became the fifth white man to play Charlie Chan in forty years.

None of the Sons got the job as Chan. Victor Sen Yung blames the Blacks for the present scarcity of jobs for Chinese actors. Benson Fong doesn't talk about politics or religion or race. Keye Luke says that he has become resigned to white supremacy. He said, "There is one consideration that overrides all others, and that's box office. After all, this is not an Oriental theater, it's a white man's theater. You have to cater to that."

During the early 1900's, the China doll broke the miscegenation taboo in the U.S. film industry. Producers claimed that Chinese women lent a special

Oriental charm, feeling, and atmosphere to an Oriental production. White men had easy access to Chinese women, but Chinese men were forbidden to touch white women. The stereotype that producers reinforced was obvious—Chinese men were inferior to white men. The white male thus maintained his sexual superiority over all races.

The movie appearances of the original China doll, Anna May Wong, in the 1920's and 1930's, launched the successful invasion of the China doll image into the United States. The image was subsequently perpetuated by white actresses, as well as by Eurasian actresses, like Nancy Kwan and France Nuyen.

Anna May Wong was discovered when she posed for an advertisement, wearing a mink coat above brocaded silk pantaloons. The public first became aware of her in Douglas Fairbanks' "The Thief of Bagdad" (1924), where she portrayed an enticing Mongol slave girl. Subsequently, Miss Wong became famous for her roles as a China doll, who fell in love with a white man and was abruptly abandoned, and as a "dragon lady" who tempted white men with her charms and then turned them over to a band of criminals.

The movies, "Toll of the Sea" and "40 Winks" were characteristic of the pictures Miss Wong appeared in. In "Toll of the Sea," Miss Wong played the trusting wife of a roving, American sailor who returned to the U.S. for a "real" wife. The deserted little Lotus Flower was an appealing figure. In "40 Winks" Miss Wong portrayed a vampire who lured a ship's commander to his doom, thus enabling her partner to gain control of the ship for mischievious reasons.

The gold mine for Chinese actors came at the advent of World War II when hostilities with Japan began. Soon after Pearl Harbor, Hollywood produced a parody of the Chan movies involving Chan and his Number Two Son who go from comic and lovable clowns, to loathsome reptiles merely by going from Chinese to Japanese.

For example, as Charlie Chan's Number Two Son, Victor was sincere, fumbling and so shy that he was rarely seen talking to anyone other than his father and the Black chauffeur. As Joe Tatsuiko in "Across the Pacific," Victor became a cocky, backslapping Japanese who looked Humphrey Bogart in the eye and said, "Hey, it's good to find someone on this boat who speaks my language!" He was the first one Bogart shot and killed in the climatic scenes.

The Charlie Chan movies filmed during the war years were subtle forms of propaganda. Ten Chan films were made during this time, but Chan and his Sons were not busy smashing Japanese spy rings or getting involved in the war effort. Instead, they continued solving high society murders. They became visibly and actively NOT Japanese with all their hearts and souls.

With all the West Coast Japanese interned in concentration camps, the Chinese were the only ones left to take Japanese roles in anti-Japanese movies. At first, the Chinese were not too eager to portray Japanese people. It took a lot of persuasion from photographer, James Wong Howe, to get some of his Chinese friends into the Warner Bros. production of "Air Force," but that broke the ice. Hollywood raised the price, and the Chinese decided it was all for a good cause and began learning their lines. They played Japanese servants, admirals, generals, and spies. Richard Loo became well-known for his portrayal of Japanese officers in "Purple Heart" and in other war pictures. A beer salesman in real life, Richard Loo got $1500 a week for playing the Japanese general in "Purple Heart." H. T. Tshiang, who for years starved his way around the Union Square section of New York selling his own plays in pamphlet form, rated $800 a week for such parts as the Chinese traitor in "Purple Heart." Harold Fong, a bartender at James Wong Howe's restaurant, grew a mustache and cut his hair short, a la Tokyo. Benson Fong, Charlie Chan's Number Three Son, used to be so young, with such a sincere, trusting face that he got shot up by the Japanese in almost every movie he was in outside of the Chan movies. (As a matter of fact, he still gets killed in the movies. He was last seen going to his maker on ABC's "Kung Fu.")

Besides the Chan movies, "Purple Heart" was the next most popular propaganda movie. The movie starred Dana Andrews as the captain of a bomber crew. The eight crewmen of a crashlanded bomber were dragged into a Japanese civil court to stand trial for murder and espionage, although they were legally prisoners of war. These eight were bullied and tortured in an attempt to find where their planes took off from. The torture scenes were omitted, making the movie even more intriguing. The crewmen resolved to remain silent and firmly believed they would be acquitted. Benson Fong played Moy Ling, the son of a Chinese governor who killed his father after learning he had been bribed by the Japanese prosecutor to lie. Richard Loo played the evil General Ito Mitsubi, who tried to convince the court the flyers were spies. He committed suicide when the flyers were acquitted. Allen Jung played the court appointed attorney for the flyers.

When the Chinese were not playing the roles of vicious Japanese soldiers, they were playing the roles of heroic, loyal, Chinese soldiers who always sacrificed themselves to save the rest of their American outfits. A Chinese soldier was never *found* dead in a movie. He never died without a scene. Before he went limp, a movie star would either pin a medal on his bloody shirt or mercifully shoot him in the head to end his agony.

No matter which role they played—Japanese patriot or Chinese patriot—Chinese actors never lived to the end of the movie. Only the white stars survived to make their exit from the war in one piece.

During the war years, another type of movie, the road movie, became popular. White actors would go to China and travel along a winding road, "bumping into love and hate, birth and death" and overcome several obstacles and roadblocks. Sometimes they ended up seeking refuge in Chinese missions, posing as Catholic priests, as in "The Left Hand of God," or the female star would fall in love with a Chinese official and neglect her white husband, as in "The Bitter Tea of General Yen." In these movies, Chinese actors were often accomplices to the white stars. They helped hide them from Japanese invaders and transported them safely to the Allied side. Unfortunately the Japanese usually found out who had helped the Americans to escape, and again the Chinese would die.

Many of these movies had religious overtones, for the road of life (road of China) was traveled by priests, like Gregory Peck, in "The Keys of the Kingdom," who were passing through doubt. When Peck doubted, it was stormy outside and the Japanese soldiers were just outside of the small Chinese village, threatening the safety of his flock. He ceased to doubt. He got mad. "And to this day, Chinese in some distant Chinese mountain village along the road of life worship reruns of that movie once a week on their state owned television station."

In a scene from "The Left Hand of God," Humphrey Bogart, who was posing as a Catholic priest in an isolated village, was fighting off the advances of a beautiful woman. His helpmate, a Chinese church sexton, was present at the same time. Bogart said he was like a woman to him. He said the sexton took care of him "like a good wife." Instead of being offended, the sexton, who understood English perfectly, smiled. This scene was deliberately planned to make the Chinese actor look like a fool. It would have been better if he had been out of the room when Bogart likened him to a woman, or if he hadn't understood English in that movie.

After the war, several television series that used many Asian actors became popular. They included "The Islanders," "Hawaiian Eye," and "Bachelor Father." The Chinese were cast in contemporary, non-military roles; such as, in "Bachelor Father," Victor Sen Yung played Cousin Charlie, the promoter who was always trying to persuade his relatives to invest in some worthy project.

A popular comic series, "Terry and the Pirates," contained a stereo-typical character named Kanny. Allen Jung played Kanny, the Chinese kid with the big ears. Children were so accustomed to seeing Allen Jung with big ears, that they didn't recognize him without them.

Romance occurred between a U.S. correspondent (William Holden) and a woman physician (Jennifer Jones) of Chinese-English blood in "Love is a Many-Splendored Thing" (1955). Their romance occurred in Hong Kong. The fact that the woman was a half breed stigmatized her socially. Her passionate interest in medicine and the need for her to assist in combatting a local epidemic often interfered with their love affair. The two couldn't marry because the man was already wed. The man was killed in the Korean War. (Note: killing one of the main characters was a favorite trick of resolving controversial racial issues without offending whites.)

"South Pacific" (1958) was one of the first movies that dealt poignantly with the integrated love affair of a white man and an Asian woman. A young Navy lieutenant (John Kerr) and a flower-like native girl (France Nuyen) fell in love, but the lieutenant was killed in combat.

In 1959, the Broadway play, "The World of Susie Wong," featuring starlet, France Nuyen, became a smash hit. Miss Nuyen, the daughter of a wandering Chinese sailor and a French woman, was the star of the play. She played the role of Susie, a bar girl and prostitute who fell in love with an American painter (William Shatner) who was visiting Hong Kong. The painter stayed in a Hong Kong hotel, that was really a brothel, and painted the girls working there. He fell in love with Susie. In the end, a flood washed away Susie's home, killing her illegitimate baby. The painter decided that he loved Susie too much to leave, so he married her, and they supposedly lived happily ever after.

Susie was a blighted China doll with mixed up ideas of right and wrong. She justified her profession as a prostitute by claiming she had no other means of supporting her illegitimate child. She felt that since her mind was good, it didn't matter what she did with her body. She didn't realize that her customers weren't interested in her mind—only her body.

The image of a pathetic Chinese prostitute captured the hearts of the American public. Once again, white males began looking at Chinese women as exotic sex objects, whose bedrooms were as easy to enter as Susie's.

Because of the play's success, Hollywood decided to make a motion picture based on the play. Miss Nuyen was chosen to play Susie again. However, not long after the filming began, Miss Nuyen became depressed, ill and grossly overweight over a broken love affair with Marlon Brando. In desperation, the director, Ray Stark summoned half-Chinese-half-English Nancy Kwan to take the leading role. After the movie's release, Nancy Kwan became an overnight star.

In "Satan Never Sleeps" (1961), a young priest, adored by a Chinese maid, took over the mission of a retiring pastor, an aging but undaunted cleric. Red troops overran the peaceful sanctuary. The Chinese heroine was raped by the Communist colonel, who had once aspired to the priesthood. The elderly cleric's life's work was seemingly ruined. But true faith and love triumphed. France Nuyen played the simple, elfin Chinese waif who offered her heart to embarrassed William Holden. The Communist colonel finally did right by the girl he had wronged.

"Diamond Head" (1962) was concerned with bigotry in Hawaii. Charlton Heston played a great white owner of pineapple and sugarcane farms who opposed the marriage of his sister, Yvette Mimieux, to a full-blooded Hawaiian played by James Darren, while he maintained France Nuyen as his mistress.

Although "Flower Drum Song" (1961) was a feeble attempt to break stereotypes, it resulted in more reinforcement than reversal. Chinese stereotypes were used as the punch lines of jokes and themes for songs creating a happy and contented image of Chinatown San Francisco. The movie managed to perpetuate as many stereotypes as it exposed. The father and aunt were not wise ancestors, but stubborn activists. The younger son was interested in baseball, instead of karate. The elder son was not the quiet, studious, and hardworking Number One Son, but a young man head over heels in love.

The leading Chinese female was a loud, hip, shapely, swinging nightclub dancer (played by Nancy Kwan). A family friend was a hustler and nightclub entrepreneur. However, family loyalty and filial obedience was still an accepted fact of Chinese life. There was a picture bride from Hong Kong who was smuggled into the United States to marry a Chinese-American she had never seen before. The parents wore expensive Chinese costumes all the time. The film was, in short, an outrage to the Chinese community.

The film's director, Henry Koster said that musicals were usually the costliest form of Hollywood movie to make because of the high salaries commanded by stars who were both actors and song and dance people. The 1961 production of "Flower Drum Song" didn't cost very much to make, because as Koster said, "You don't have to pay Oriental actors as much as you do regular actors."

In the 1960's, a popular T.V. western, "Bonanza," included in its cast of characters a Chinese cook. Victor Sen Yung played the Cartwright family cook. His costume and speech were almost identical to those of the stock Chinese characters of the 1870's. He wore a baggy blouse and trousers, a skullcap, and of course, a queue. His speech was a grotesque mixture of Cantonese and pidgin-English. The only dissimilarity between Victor's portrayal of a cook and the stock Chinese character, was Victor was a Chinese actor playing the role of a Chinese, whereas, the stock Chinese character of the 1870's was always portrayed by a white man. When Chinese viewers wrote to Victor Sen Yung protesting his degrading dress and language, he replied that he was only representing a true period of American history. He felt that he supplied a necessary outlet for comedy relief that lightened the straight plot. In other words, he felt that an American Western was not complete without its Chinese cook.

In 1960, Benson Fong played a Chinese uncle who advised his nephew, James Shigeta, to give no back talk to the whites, and leave his pure Sacramento Valley accent in the house. Then, he might live to be in the last shot of the movie. The movie was "Walk Like a Dragon." A Chinese slave girl was desired by two men, one white (Jack Lord) and one yellow (James Shigeta). In a duel between the two, Jack Lord won, however, the Chinese girl decided to marry James Shigeta. I suppose the time was not ripe for an interracial marriage between a white man and a yellow woman.

In 1970, "The Hawaiians" dealt with about 30 years in the life of Whipple Hoxworth (Charlton Heston), the end of the 19th century, the changing tides of history and the coming of the pineapple to Hawaii. Tina Chen was allowed to develop a secondary theme. She played a Chinese servant girl who fought her way from poverty to power, while also being secretly in love with Charlton Heston. Her role was unique in that Chinese rarely have real family relationships in movies. They seem to be placed on earth full grown.

Benson Fong claimed that he did play some respectable roles; such as, the time he played a *German* scientist in "Our Man Flint," or when he played a very wealthy Chinese businessman in the Walt Disney production of "Love Bug," or when he appeared as a Japanese astronaut who helps to kill a deranged crewmember in "Conquest of Space." Today, he is a very successful restauranteur who boasts of buying a new Cadillac every two years.

Keye Luke is in his sixties now and registered with Medicare. He is still dreaming of going into private practice as a renovated version of Charlie Chan.

Victor Sen Yung isn't doing much acting these days. He has entered into business with a Chinese food outfit. As part of his duties, he dresses himself in the stereotyped togs—"skullcap, high collar silk shirt with widemouthed sleeves—going from the opening of one stainless steel food shed to another, doing to Chinese food what Colonel Sanders did to fried chicken."

Miss Kwan still hasn't been seen in a non-stereotypical role. She was last seen in T.V.'s "Kung Fu." She played Mei Li Ho, the favorite concubine of the Chinese Emperor, who seduced Kwai Chang (Caine).

The racist images of the 1970's have not changed. They still appear in nation-wide advertising. In our consumption-oriented economy, advertising is a major sales instrument for various goods and services. Many ads develop and reinforce a misleading image of Chinese to viewers, readers and listeners who usually have little or no contact with Chinese people. I will cite a few examples.

In 1973, the Leo Burnett U.S.A. Advertising Agency produced a television advertisement for Union Oil Company, which was offering porcelain mugs and coasters for 49¢ with a minimum purchase of eight gallons of gasoline. The commercial showed a Chinese man dressed in a Union 76 dealer's uniform, speaking in Cantonese while an announcer "translated" in English. The Chinese man began the commercial speaking impeccable Cantonese. However, as his voice faded, the announcer translated in pidgin-English:

> "Americans, here is opportunity . . . to see China . . . Visit participating Union Seventy-Six stations . . . buy eight gallons of gasoline . . . give dealer forty-nine cents . . . get imported fine porcelain . . . china mug . . . or four matching coasters."

The commercial obviously did not represent the typical manner in which Chinese speak English. Articles in front of key nouns had been left out and so many pauses were included that the effect was choppy, substandard English.

Chun King produces Chinese food in cans or frozen packages. In the commercials the Dancer Fitzgerald Sample, Inc. produced, the image that heat and serve Chinese foods rival a Chinese restaurant was stressed. Their first two commercials dealt with white supremacy over Chinese. In attempting to create an Oriental flavor in the commercial, a Chinese cook was portrayed as being humble and subservient. In the commercial, Mrs. Ruth Smothers and the Chinese cook were preparing dinner. Mrs. Smothers heated and removed her Chun King dinner from the oven before the cook finished his preparations. After tasting the dinner, the cook said "Good" in a very heavy accent. In another commercial, Mama Cass' mother explained to a Chinese waiter in a tuxedo that Chun King dinners were far superior to freshly cooked Chinese food. The waiter meekly listened and replied, "In-credible, in-credible."

Again, the accent in both commercials was prominent. The reactions of the cook and waiter were one-word responses. Also, the roles of the cook and waiter were subservient. In the Mama Cass' mother commerical, the waiter nodded his head up and down reinforcing the "ah-so" syndrome.

In a Command Hair Spray commercial, an Asian male competed against an Anglo male in a ping pong match. An Asian female waited in the background. The Asian emerged victorious from the match, but he was perspiring and his hair was a mess. The white did not have a drop of sweat on him and his hair was the best groomed in town. He walked away with the Asian woman. The ad implied that Asian men don't care about their appearance. It also reinforced the image of a Chinese woman "falling for" a white male.

In a Van Huesen shirt ad, two well-dressed whites faced a group of very ingratiating-looking Chinese, the leader of which bears some resemblance to Chairman Mao Tse Tung of the People's Republic of China. In the background were an admiring Chinese woman and a photographer. The caption under the picture read: "When you have to show the proper face, show the proper shirt. Hampshire House. By Van Huesen." This ad perpetuated the stereotypes: of smiling, ingratiating, self-demeaning Chinese people; of "exotic" members of the female sex who surrender to the charms of a Caucasian; and of the Chinese practice of "saving face."

A commercial for Jesse Jones sausage opened on a Chinese man busy working in a laundry as he said: "Everything no-good, everything shrink. No-good shirt shrink, man complain. No-good blouse shrink, lady complain. Wife make sausage biscuit, no-good sausage shrink. Then I complain. But today, wife find Jesse Jones sausage. Prime pork. Shrink less. Stay in pan, not melt away. With Jesse Jones sausage, I can't complain. Why don't he make shirts?" The camera then panned to a picture of a package of sausages and a pair of chopsticks. The announcer then said, "Sausage from Jesse Jones. It shrinks less." In a magazine ad using the same Chinese laundryman, the caption beneath the picture read: "When this fellow gets through selling Jesse Jones sausage and franks, nobody else is going to have a Chinaman's chance."

An ad for Brown Company showed a Chinese restaurant proprietor, Wong Ming, holding a menu printed on Brown Company paper. Behind him stood several waiters holding plates of steaming food and a waitress wearing a cheong-sam. The caption beneath the picture read: "The white paper for the Wong job." In the text below the picture, the company mentioned "The whiteness Wong gets from Velvetsheen makes the English practically pop off the page.'' However, upon examination, anyone could see that the entire menu was in Chinese characters. Not a single word of English appeared. As an insulting afterthought, a footnote was placed at the bottom of the ad. It read: "Any resemblance between Wong Ming and persons living or dead is purely coincidental. Sorry about that."

Using the slogan, "With Gillette Techmatic, it's good bye Nick," the S. Jay Reiner Company produced a series of radio commercials and magazine advertisements for the Gillette company. One of the ads developed the story of a reluctant spy who assumed the identity of a Chinese junk owner in order to recover the "small black box." However, the spy could not maintain his cover due to numerous cuts and nicks on his face. (It seemed rather ridiculous to assume that a white man could successfully pose as a Chinese in Hong Kong, even without the cuts on his face. This example of disreputable copy writing was consistent with Hollywood's script writing and casting in Charlie Chan movies—and remember Chan was never played by a Chinese actor.) One night, the spy was approached by his superior in disguise. "X," his superior, gave him a Gillette Techmatic and spoke the following in a heavy accent:

> "Techmatic has continuous razor band. No brade with sharp corners to cut and nick face. All safery encrosed in cartridge so never have to touch razor brade again. And, adjustable."

This was another example of spoken English that many people associated with Chinese.

The magazine version of the same ad used correct English with no interchanging of the "r" and "l" sounds except for "Herro Nick." Although only one example of pidgin-English was contained in the magazine ad, other references to Chinese stereotypes were included. For example, Chinese are referred to as "Oriental enemies," and for Nick, it meant "curtains" when "the sinister Oriental approached him." These references reinforced the "Fu Manchu" and sinister type characteristics that are often associated with Chinese.

Advertising is not the only form of media that still contains degrading stereotypes. The comics are a "convenient vehicle by which the grossest stereotypes are expressed in the name of fantasy." Comics are more than just a flight into a world of imagination. They adversely affect the opinions of the youngsters who read these biased magazines, and watch the televised versions on Saturday mornings. The comics are showing ridiculous caricatures of Asians that have been banned, for the most part, from movies and television programs. An example, is one episode of "Fritz the Cat." The Chinese people were represented as a pack of rats, bent on conquering this country by flooding it with millions of other rats. This scene was reminiscent of the anti-Chinese posters that were printed at the height of the anti-Chinese campaigns during the last half of the 19th century.

The media are resurrecting humiliating stereotypes in advertising, comics, and reruns of war movies. The insensitive businessmen who profit from this kind of racism continue to exploit the groups that view their products. Such men prey on the viewers' gullibility and lack of association with Chinese people, thus enabling them to pump them full of painful and insulting stereotypes.

Chinese actors should be cast in more realistic and believable roles. The Chinese have been thus far identified with subservient occupations; such as cooks, laundrymen, and waiters; as well as with Fu Manchu, Charlie Chan, Susie Wong, and the "Chinaman who always dies" in war movies, shouting something paradoxical. Chinese are like other people and many do occupy positions as successful doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and housewives. Chinese do not habitually quote Confucian proverbs. So, it's ridiculous for a Chinese to be cast in a role in which, just before the top of his head is blown off by his best friend (a white), he shouts, "The river does not contend against the willow, yet the doorknob still turns." (The movie was "The Sand Pebbles" and the white friend was Steve McQueen.)

The civil rights consciousness of the last decade and the recent entry of China into open international politics have helped to eliminate open discrimination, but it will take generations to correct the wrongful, hostile attitudes most Americans were taught about the Chinese and are still being subjected to in the news media, advertising, and comics.

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Comment: Gladys C. Hansen, *San Francisco City Archivist*

#8 – CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Chairman: Irma Tam Soong, *Hawaii Chinese History Center, Honolulu.*

THE ORIGINS OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES 1848-1882

By

ROBERT G. LEE

This essay is a review of the historiography of Chinese immigration to the United States between 1848 and 1882. It is an attempt to generate a series of questions regarding the Chinese in this period of "unrestricted" immigration. These questions relate to the economic and social environment of mid-nineteenth century Kwangtung, the Chinese image of the United States and California, and the methods adopted by the Chinese in their migration to the United States. Each of these questions is of sufficient magnitude to warrant independent study. However, if we seek in any one of them a single cause for migration, we come away empty-handed. It is only in the synthesis of these questions that an image emerges. This image is not of causes but of conditions that merged to encourage migration from Kwangtung to California. It is an image that differs significantly from the standard picture of coolie laborers indentured to servile labors in the mines or on the railroads. It is an image that demands not only a new interpretation of the process of their immigration but of the whole Chinese experience in nineteenth century California. The image presented here is still unfocused and further research is needed before it can be seen in clear relief. This essay hopes to present a *prima facie* case for the utility of that research.

Chinese immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century has been a relatively neglected subject in both Chinese and American historiography. Recent studies from Taipei and Hong Kong have tended to emphasize the present economic position and political coloration of the Chinese abroad. Two exceptions are Wu Shang-ying, *Mei-kuo hua-ch'iao pai nien chi shih.* (A True Account of One Hundred Years of Overseas Chinese in America) and Chang Ts'un-wu, *Chung-Mei kung yüeh feng-ch'ao* (Agitation over the Sino-American Exclusion Treaty).[1] Both of these accounts, the former a general treatment of the Chinese in the United States and the latter a monographic treatment of the anti-American boycott of 1905, touch only briefly on the background, or process of immigration to the United States. Recent works done in the People's Republic of China have taken up the subject of the treatment of Chinese workers in the United States. The most notable of these include, Ah Ying, *Fan Mei Hua-kung chin yüeh,* (A literary collection of materials concerning the opposition to the American exclusion treaty), Ch'ing Ju-chi, *Mei-kuo chin Hua shih* (American aggression against China) and Chu Shih-chia, *Mei-kuo p'o hai Hua-kung shih-liao* (Historical materials concerning America's persecution of Chinese laborers).[2] While these works are helpful in bringing together a variety of source materials, they deal primarily with the maltreatment of the Chinese in the United States, the American participation in the coolie trade to Latin America and with the American exclusion of Chinese immigrants, and ignore the background of Chinese immigration to the United States and its process.

American historiography of Chinese immigration during this period falls into two categories, works published in the early decades of this century which addressed themselves to the controversy over the exclusion of Chinese from America, and more recent studies which have attempted to explain the hostility encountered by the Chinese in the context of American economic and social history. Of the earlier writing, Mary R. Coolidge's *Chinese Immigration* is the classic. Along with George F. Sewards' earlier work, *Chinese Immigration In Its Social and Economic Aspects* and Elmer Sandmeyer's subsequent *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, Coolidge's work examines the anti-Chinese movement in California leading up to the passage of the exclusion acts of 1882. These three studies shed some light on the life of the Chinese in California but they touch only lightly on the causes and processes of migration itself. The latter group of works such as Stuart C. Miller's *The Unwelcome Immigrant* and Alexander Saxton's *The Indispensible Enemy* – the most notable of the recent studies – deal with the American reaction to the Chinese rather than with the Chinese themselves. The most important recent attempt to deal with the Chinese experience in nineteenth century America is Gunther Barth's *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States 1850-1870*.[3] Barth's work is however flawed both in methodology and interpretation. His major methodological weakness is his almost total reliance on English language sources, primarily California newspaper accounts of the period. His uncritical acceptance of these not unbiased accounts lead him to a highly impressionistic and therefore inaccurate account of Chinese life in California. His account of the Canton delta as the background to emigration is a distillation of the *Chinese Repository*, colorful but superficial. His highly selective choice of source material narrows his field of vision to such an extent that he dismisses important arguments put forth by Mary R. Coolidge simply as too sympathetic to the Chinese, or Ping Chiu's tightly argued economic study, *Chinese Labor in California*, as too narrow.[4] This unwillingness to either examine primary and secondary material in Chinese or to address the arguments that run directly counter to his own, leads him to some highly provocative but ultimately flawed interpretations. He argues, by reviving the analogy to the coolie trade to Cuba and Peru, that Chinese immigration was nothing more than a thinly veiled version of that quasi-slave trade. (Hence the misnomer *Bitter Strength*.) From this central assumption flows a defense of anti-Chinese discrimination as an expression of ideals of liberty and justice for white Californians. While some skepticism has been expressed (notably by Wolfram Eberhard) his thesis has gone unchallenged and forms the underlying assumption of such works as Saxton's in explaining the attack on the Chinese by American labor.[5]

The reasons for the Chinese emigration from Kwangtung and the process of immigration into California in the mid-nineteenth century are unanswered questions. These questions assume a central significance in the subsequent experience of the Chinese in the United States. Furthermore, an examination of these problems may well shed some light beyond those narrow confines into the debate over the impact of imperialism on China. This issue is currently being debated on a macroscopic level and in regard to a time period later than the mid-nineteenth century.[6] It may well be, however, that an examination of the conditions leading to emigration will demonstrate the impact of foreign economic penetration on local economic and social systems and at least one type of popular response to it.

We must focus on Kwangtung from the 1830's onward in order to understand Chinese immigration to the United States. The deterioration of traditional Chinese economic and social patterns began to accelerate rapidly from this period and created the conditions which encouraged the exodus from Kwangtung.

The bedrock of the Kwangtung economy underwent major shifts in the 1800's. The most fundamental endogenous change was the tremendous population increase that had been ongoing from the Ming and which accelerated from the early eighteenth century.[7] Though estimates vary, it is likely that the population of Kwangtung came close to doubling between 1786 and 1882.[8] John Durand and Ho Ping-ti have expressed cautious confidence that the aggregate data at the provincial level represents a reasonable approximation of population growth for the period from the late 18th through mid 19th century.[9] Detailed demographic analysis below the provincial level is difficult, as data for Kwangtung is particularly subject to error due to serious underreporting of both population and land.[10] A breakdown of population data to the *hsien* level would be extremely useful to study the impact of population growth on a limited area as well as for a comparison of various *hsiens*. However figures for Hsin-ning and Shun-te *hsien* have been examined with little statistical success. The imprecision of our present empirical knowledge notwithstanding, it is possible to hypothesize that this tremendous province-wide growth led to at least two significant economic changes. The most direct was an increasingly bitter struggle for land. John Watt has suggested that this problem intensified from the mid-Ming on.[11] The gazetteer of Hsin-ning *hsien*, provides evidence of the bitter struggles over even the most marginally arable reclaimed lands (*hsia-t'ien*).[12] A second economic change was structural; population growth as well as economic growth in the Ming led to a proliferation of marketing communities. Rawski has noted this development in Ming Fukien and Hunan, and it is likely that a similar pattern of development occurred in Kwangtung, stimulated not only by population growth but by the growth of Macau, Canton and Hong Kong as centers of foreign trade.[13] Watt suggests that this proliferation of marketing communities disrupted rural life, arguing that the fluctuation of marketplaces dislocated traditional social relationships.[14]

The increase in foreign trade, especially opium, must be counted as an important factor in disrupting the economy of Kwangtung. With the notable exception of Chang Hsin-pao's *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*, the economic impact of the opium trade in the early and mid-nineteenth century has been neglected in the Western literature of the Opium wars.[15] Chinese historians however have emphasized the deleterious impact of the opium trade as it affected China's balance of payments and the rising costs of silver.[16] Chinese officials at the time were also concerned about the opium trade as an inflationary as well as social evil. The phrase *yin kuei, ch'ien chien*, expressing the rising cost of silver and falling value of copper cash, abounds in their memorials.[17] Opium held the dominant position in China's foreign trade throughout most of the 19th century. The strains that it put on the Chinese economy bore most heavily on the Kwangtung peasantry. For while taxes and rents were calculated by a silver standard, produce brought in increasingly worthless copper. By the late 1840's the cost of silver had risen to three times its official value.[18] Furthermore, the opium wars added the burden of tax surcharges, increases that are chronicled in the *hsien* gazetteers.[19] To this yoke was added the weight of a corrupted tax structure that allowed large landlords and powerful clans to avoid taxation.[20] By bribing officials, landlords and gentry were able to avoid registering much if not all of their land for taxation. Ho reports that millions of *mou* went unreported in Kwangtung.[21] Not only did this give another advantage to the gentry, large landlords, and strong clans, but it also led directly to the selling of lands by many small holders to large landlords in order to seek shelter from the crushing tax burden and voracious officials. By the 1930's close to 70% of all rural Kwangtung families were either tenants or landless laborers.[22]

Less dramatic but no less significant was the expansion of Canton as the major commercial center of Kwangtung in early 19th century. As foreign trade flourished and opium flowed into China, capital began to gravitate toward Canton. This led to a variety of economic problems. If the pattern of structural change under conditions of increasing commercialization described by Skinner holds true, then the rise of Canton would have been accompanied by a decline in the market towns surrounding the city.[23] Furthermore, as cotton cloth and other manufactured foreign goods began to be used, the cottage industries by which the peasantry derived its marginal (though often crucial) income would have declined.[24] Finally, silver flowed not into foreign coffers alone but into the treasuries of the Chinese merchants as well.[25] The general pattern of the reinvestment of commercial capital into land and usury is well known and it is no surprise to find complaints in the gazetteers regarding the rise of absentee landholding in Kwangtung.[26] This phenomenon was especially strong in the areas immediately surrounding Canton. In Pan-yü *hsien* during the 1930's for example, rural indebtedness reached as high as 70%.[27]

These shifts in the economic superstructure exacerbated the existing fissures in Kwangtung society. The strength of clan and lineage organizations in South China has been analyzed by Maurice Freedman while Hsiao Kung-ch'uan has illustrated how clan feuds and vendettas were a constant feature of the Kwangtung countryside.[28] More often as not these conflicts stemmed from the struggle over land and water rights – Hsien officials often complained about the large clans running roughshod over weaker clans in this constant struggle.[29]

Banditry and to borrow Eric Hobsbawm's distinction "social banditry,"[30] were also common features of the Kwangtung countryside. Some seventeen bandit groups operated in the province in the two years prior to the Taiping rebellion while the area around Canton was under the influence of three or four overlapping secret societies between 1800 and 1850.[31] The increasing concentration of land in the hands of the wealthy could only have increased Kwangtung's "floating" population of vagrants, beggars and bandits. Dispossessed peasants and peasants who saw their real income gradually but unmercifully whittled away resorted to outlawry and secret society activity to relieve their misery.[32]

The great Taiping rebellion which raged out of neighboring Kwangsi province largely bypassed Kwangtung on its march towards Nanking. Yet Kwangtung was not untouched by the winds of rebellion. In 1854, the Red Turban society rose in the hill districts, outside of Canton, seizing power in the rural areas and terrorizing the city. The rebels advanced to capture Fatshun an important city only 15 miles from Canton until they were crushed in 1856.[33] This and the ensuing white terror rent the already strained fabric of Kwangtung society. Wakeman has argued that the period of resistance to the British in the 1840's led to a development of class consciousness as the gentry-led militia brought together rich and poor in a common defense against the foreign invasion. The vacuum of official authority and the period of collaboration intensified this class consciousness, culminating in the Red Turban rebellion.[34] Finally, the defeat of rebellion and the reactionary terror in which hundreds of thousands were executed led to a complete domination of the countryside by the victorious gentry.[35]

Kwangtung society was fractured not only along class and clan lines but along ethnic lines as well. The fourth southern migration of the Hakka's began in the early Ch'ing period.[36] As these "guest" people from the north drifted west across Kwangtung, they found the land already heavily populated. In the 19th century their villages were for the most part established in the less fertile hillsides and valleys.[37] Conflict between the Hakka and the native "Punti" people had been a long standing tradition. Disputes over land, water rights, rents and women so common to clan feuds were given an added ethnic dimension. But it was the Red Turban rebellion and its disruption of the rural social order that brought these ethnic antagonisms out in the open on a generalized scale.[38] Hakka braves had been used by the gentry and government in suppressing the Red Turbans and many Hakka tenant farmers had used the government's reliance on them to withhold their rent payments which caused resentment. In the years after 1853 their resistance was the only factor in the way of undisputed gentry power in the province.[39] The ensuing war lasted from 1853 to 1867 and by conservative estimates took upwards of half a million lives.[40] A major characteristic in this war of attrition between Cantonese and Hakka was the large scale sale of prisoners into the semi-slavery of the coolie trade, then active between Macau and points in Southeast Asia, the West Indies, and South America.[41] The war resulted in undisputed control of rural Kwangtung by the Punti gentry and landlords.[42]

The traditional recourse to rebellion thus stymied, and caught in an ever-tightening vise between deteriorating economy and fragmented society, the Kwangtung peasant had nowhere to turn for relief but abroad. While the economic and social forces that combined to push the peasant out of Kwangtung are conspicuous, the vague image that drew him towards California is more difficult to reconstruct. Canton, Macau and Hong Kong were not only ports of trade but were cultural exchange entrepots as well; images of the West inevitably filtered through these centers into the Kwangtung countryside. The gentry led resistance movement against the British in the early 1840's notwithstanding, the Cantonese image of the West was by no means totally negative. Liang Chia-pin and Hao Yen-ping remind us that *hong* merchants and compradors performed a social and cultural function as well as an economic one.[43] By their adoption of Western attitudes while maintaining a place for themselves in Chinese society, they projected positive images of the West into China.

Neither was the impact of the Christian missionary insignificant. The T'aiping adaptation of Christianity to the millenerian impulse of the peasant tradition suggests that Western symbols fell on fertile ground amongst the poor and dispossessed. Taiping leaders did nothing to dispel positive images of the West, in fact they reported glowingly on the government and society of the United States as a model of democracy.[44] Beyond the Taiping interpretation of the West which appealed to the classes in revolt, the missionaries made their presence felt through educational and medical institutions.[45] Lo Hsiang-lin has used genealogies to measure the impact of the Christian missionaries on several notable Cantonese clans, including the Yung clan of Chung-shan *hsien*, whose member Yung Wing was the first Chinese to graduate from an American university (Yale, 1854).[46]

A more direct inducement to make the journey to California was the news of the gold strike of 1848. In the early 1850's advertisements were placed in Hong Kong newspapers to attract passengers for American ships on their return voyage from China.[47] Word spread by letter and by word of mouth as

Chinese already in California wrote home of the gold rush. By 1851, the rush from Kwangtung to California was on. After the initial surge of immigration of the early 1850's, immigration levelled off and the image of California seems to have receded. However in the late 1860's China coast newspapers again carried advertisements of the advantages to be had by shipping to California to work on the railroads and in agriculture.[48]

Added to the often desperate straits in which the Kwangtung peasants found themselves these positive images spurred many to make the trip to California to work, if not to settle. The means that the Cantonese used to immigrate is perhaps the most problematic and most controversial question to be answered. The secondary literature is scanty and vague regarding the methods of migration. Since the methods the Chinese used to immigrate became a major issue in the debate over exclusion, much of literature is tendentious rather than illuminating and little if any primary material has been brought to light in support of the contentions of the various authors.

To give this period a sense of order we may resort to that all-purpose tool of the historian, periodization. Chinese immigration to the United States prior to 1882 may be divided roughly into three periods. The first period was the years up to 1851. These years might be called the period of "merchant immigration." California accounts depict the Chinese in California at that time as being primarily engaged as shopkeepers and as tradesmen.[49] It is evident however that there were skilled workers among the Chinese who came under contract to American employers.[50] However, contract labor during this period was a rarity and contracts were difficult to enforce. In 1882 the California legislature defeated the passage of the Tingley bill which would have made legal the enforcement of indentures. This suggests that indentured coolie labor was not significant in the California economy. (Unlike the plantation and mining economies of Southeast Asia or the West Indies, the plantation and hacienda economies of the American South and Southwest were adequately supplied with Black, Mexican, and Indian labor). It also suggests that what indentures did exist were virtually impossible to enforce in the rush to the gold country.

The year 1851 saw a dramatic six-fold increase of Chinese entering California, from 450 in 1850 to 2,716 in 1851. The following year saw the number of immigrants jump to 20,025.[51] Thereafter it levelled off to an approximate average of 4,000 immigrants per year for the next decade. The initial surge seems clearly to have been a response to the lure of gold. This new group of Chinese were primarily of peasant origins and went into the mining districts in search of gold. The majority of them came under the credit-ticket system. The nature of this system is the subject of considerable controversy. The debate focuses on the question of whether the credit ticket system was simply a system of loans which immigrants could repay as they worked at whatever jobs they could find or a thinly disguised version of the infamous coolie trade with its quasi-slave status. Regarding this question, much research remains to be done. Previous arguments have confused rather than clarified the issue and it is dangerous, as some have done, to borrow from the Chinese experience in Southeast Asia or Latin America to seek an answer. For example, while a much abused credit-ticket system did exist with regard to Chinese emigration from Fukien to Siam, the abuses that crept into that system may have been functions of the fact that a well organized system of labor recruitment existed in Amoy and Swatow and the need for plantation labor in Siam.[52] There was considerable forced emigration of kidnapped or captured prisoners of war during the Hakka-Punti wars. That coolie trade was centered in Macau, and from 1856 to 1867 virtually all of it was destined for Southeast Asia, the West Indies, and South America.[53] The passenger trade from Kwangtung to California went through Hong Kong and Canton. In 1853, Dr. John Bowring, then Governor of Hong Kong, argued against legislation of the coolie trade, singling out the United States as the only country to which "Chinese immigration was confined almost wholly to independent emigrants, who pay their own passage money, and are in condition to look to their own arrangements."[54]

The third wave of immigration began in 1868 and is commonly associated with the construction of the trans-continental railroad. However, it is apparent that this third wave of immigration which continued at high levels until exclusion in 1882 was a response to a number of factors, railroad construction being a relatively minor one. It was in 1868 that Hakka resistance in Kwangtung was finally and decisively crushed. This would have freed many young men who had been pressed into the fray to defend their villages, to leave in search of new adventure and wealth. This would also account for the dramatic increase of immigrants from the *sze yup* districts, the major areas of conflict, in the period between 1868 and 1876.[55] Another major factor was transition of trans-oceanic travel from sail to steam during this period. It was in 1867 that the Pacific Mail Steam Navigation Company inaugurated steam service from San Francisco to China.[56] While the Central Pacific did recruit laborers beginning in 1867 it had already hired many of its workers from among the Chinese already in California. After the completion of the transcontinental line in 1869 the Chinese still remained active in rail construction throughout the West but there is little evidence to suggest that the other lines recruited fresh labor from China but rather used the massive work force laid off by the Central Pacific. The Chinese continued to immigrate to California in large numbers throughout the 1870's even as opportunities were increasingly being closed to them and in the face of open and often brutal hostility.

The image of Chinese immigration thus reconstructed calls for further research and a new framework of interpretation. The social erosion of mid-nineteenth century Kwangtung which dislodged so many from the province not only to California but to Southeast Asia, Australia, and Latin America, has been well researched. The roles played by the demographic crisis and the penetration of imperialism into the local economy have yet to be fully explored, but must be considered formidable factors. The problems of reconstructing the Chinese image of California is an enormous one. But it is necessary if we are to understand the purpose of the sojourn. Finally, the process of immigration must be carefully reexamined and the coolie myth put away.

The historiography of the Chinese in the United States has suffered from conceptual confusion. Their history has not been written in Chinese terms but terms of their contributions to the development of the United States. There is much to be proud of in those contributions. However contribution history tells us little about the Chinese experience itself. For that we must create a Chinese context in order to understand how peasants pushed out of Kwangtung, their visions of California, their hopes and aspirations, and their struggle for survival.

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for various *hsien* in Ming Fukien with no success. However, as Ho Ping-t'i has explained, the numerative unit the *ting* did not change from being a fiscal unit to an actual attempt at representing population until 1740. (Ho, *Studies*, p. 24-36), nevertheless, the problems of statistical error are still enormous and only a close examination of data in individual cases will determine the viability of such a study.

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THE TRAGEDY AND TRAUMA OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS

By

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In recent years, increased attention has been given to the tragedy of the World War II interment of the Japanese in the United States. There is wide awareness of how Japanese-Americans suffered during the "relocation," and how this experience subsequently influenced their behavior. However few people realize that the Chinese-American community suffered through an equally devastating experience at the hands of the Federal government, during the sixty-plus year period of Chinese exclusion from the United States.

It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the events surrounding the enactment of the laws restricting Chinese immigration to America, or to detail the operation of these laws.[1] However, a basic knowledge of these laws is necessary to understand how the behavior of the Chinese-American community has been molded by these laws.

The first Federal law restricting Chinese immigration to America was passed in 1882, as the hysteria over so-called "cheap" Chinese labor spread from California to the halls of Congress. This Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 suspended the further immigration of Chinese "laborers" for 10 years, but Chinese laborers who had already immigrated to the United States were allowed to leave and return freely provided they obtained a return certificate before departing. This law proved unsatisfactory to the anti-Chinese elements in the United States, who apparently expected the Chinese population of the country to disappear overnight. Consequently, 1888 saw the passage of a more restrictive law, the Scott Act. There were two thrusts to the Scott Act. First, resident alien Chinese laborers were not permitted to return to the United States, once having left the country.[2] And secondly, the act barred the return of those Chinese laborers who had been residents of the United States when the 1882 Exclusion law was passed, but were temporarily abroad when the Scott Act was passed. These persons had been guaranteed the right to return to the United States by both the 1882 Exclusion Act and the treaty between China and the United States, but these "rights" were made worthless by the Scott Act.

The Scott Act effectively curtailed the influx of Chinese into the country, and coupled with the departure of some of the earlier immigrants, caused the resident Chinese population to decrease. Nevertheless, the anti-Chinese forces were not yet finished, as in 1892 they engineered the enactment of the Geary Act. The Geary Act was the ultimate of insults, in that Chinese were treated as no better than paroled criminals, as all Chinese laborers were required to register and be photographed or face deportation. Chinese persons arrested under this act were to be deported unless they affirmatively proved their right to remain in the United States.[3] Although these registration provisions applied only to alien Chinese laborers, other classes of Chinese were deeply affected by this law. For example, if a merchant or an American-born Chinese were "caught" engaging in some form of labor, he would be deported unless he could present affirmative proof that he was not subject to the registration requirements. Thus, under the laws of the United States of America, it was quite possible for an American-born Chinese, who had never left American soil, to have been deported to China.[4]

As harsh as the letter of the law was, the laws were administered as adversely to the Chinese as could be done. The various Chinese exclusion laws[5] as written only applied to Chinese "laborers." However, the term "laborer" was given so broad an interpretation that it encompassed everything except those classes specifically exempted by the Chinese-American treaty—merchants, students, teachers, officials and travelers. Thus, for example, accountants, doctors, clerks, wives of laborers, innkeepers and restauranteurs were laborers for purposes of the exclusion acts. As a result of this statutory construction it was illegal for practically every resident of China to immigrate to the United States.

The immigration laws relating to the Chinese were essentially unchanged for the next 50 years after the passage of the Geary Act. If anything the situation worsened with the general Immigration Act of 1924 which established immigration quotas based on national origins. Since Chinese were specifically excluded from immigrating to the United States anyway, the 1924 act had no direct impact on the status of Chinese immigration. But prior to this act, China born wives of American-born Chinese men[6] were allowed to immigrate to the United States thanks to some lenient judicial interpretation of the existing laws and treaties. Though the 1924 act was not written with the intent to cut off the immigration of these wives, the wording of the new statute clearly precluded the further entry of such wives. Only partial relief came in 1930, when legislation was passed to permit the immigration of Chinese women who married American-born Chinese men before May 26, 1924.

In retrospect, the Chinese exclusion laws would have been repealed in due course as attitudes within the country began to change. However the pressure of world events prematurely triggered the end to Chinese exclusion. During the early stages of World War II the attitude of the American public towards the Chinese changed drastically. On the battle front the plight of China, America's war ally, evoked sympathy from the American public. Meanwhile, on the home front, the national war mobilization created a severe labor shortage, and for the first time, Chinese-Americans found themselves working side by side with white Americans, in the nation's defense plants.[7] Through this interpersonal contact, and the attendant publicity generated,[8] the American public discovered that Chinese-Americans really weren't objectionable people, and were just as patriotic and capable as anyone else. Furthermore, it was rather embarrassing for the United States to continue its policy of Chinese exclusion while China was one of its principal war allies. Accordingly, in 1943, and with little opposition,[9] the United States repealed all of the Chinese exclusion laws. China was given an annual immigration quota of 105 persons,[10] and foreign born Chinese were given the right to become naturalized American citizens.

The official end of Chinese exclusion in 1943 was more symbolic than real, given the miniscule annual quota for China. On the other hand, though the quota remained at 105 until the national origins system was abolished by the Immigration Act of 1965, the de facto end to exclusion came well before 1965 due to a number of special relief provisions. First and most important was the exemption from quota for Chinese wives of American citizens, as war brides or otherwise, beginning in 1945. Subsequent exemptions from the quota were granted to certain foreign born children of American-born Chinese, Chinese husbands of American citizens, Chinese students and other Chinese stranded here by political events in China, refugees from the Chinese mainland and others. Pursuant to these relief provisions, thousands of Chinese entered the United States.

With the Immigration Act of 1965, the era of legislative discrimination against Chinese Immigration came to an end. Under the present law, national origins are no longer a factor in American immigration policy, except for the annual limit of 20,000 immigrants per country. Consequently, the past decade has seen a sharp influx in the number of Chinese immigrants to America.

At first blush it may seem that the old Chinese exclusion laws have little relevance to today, since they were enacted some 90 years ago, and were put to rest over 30 years ago. But such is not the case. For one thing, a significant portion of today's Chinese-Americans are descendants of persons who immigrated to the United States while the exclusion laws were in effect, making these laws part of their personal family histories. But more significantly, the effects of the Chinese exclusion laws have virtually permeated the entire fabric of the Chinese-American community, and in large part, for better or worse, making the Chinese-American community what it is today.

One of the most noticeable effects of the exclusion laws has been the imbalance in the sex ratio among the Chinese in America. Historically the early stages of immigration was predominantly male, and this was the case with Chinese immigration to the United States. In 1880, at the eve of Chinese exclusion, there was but one Chinese female in the country per twenty-one Chinese males. Undoubtedly the sex ratio would have normalized had Chinese immigration not been restricted, but with the enactment of the exclusion laws Chinatown was doomed to be a male society for decades to come.

The mention of "Chinatown" to any white American during the period of Chinese exclusion would evoke images of tong wars, white slavery, gambling and opium smoking.[11] While these particular aspects of life in Chinatown were likely overemphasized, there's no hiding the fact that these activities were an integral part of life in Chinatown. But did anyone ask why such things occurred in Chinatown? These were just the inevitable result of the bachelor society of Chinatown. As mentioned, the exclusion laws prevented most Chinese from bringing wives into the United States, and in addition state laws often prevented intermarriage with non-Chinese women. Therefore most of Chinatown's men did not enjoy a normal family life. Consequently such alternative outlets were needed to occupy these men in their spare time.[12] It is ironic that white America pointed to the involvement of Chinese in tong activities, trafficking in women, gambling and opium smoking as evidence of the undesirability of the Chinese race, when it was white America's laws which made these activities the only diversions available for the lonely men of Chinatown.

Even today old Chinese bachelors are a visible part of Chinatowns throughout the country. They may be seen in groups on the streets keeping each other company, or alone in their rooms with nobody in the world to care for them. Originally many intended to return to China after having made their fortune in America, the land of the Golden Mountain. But with the establishment of the People's Republic in China and/or economic adversity in the United States, their dreams of retiring to a life of luxury in their home villages have been squelched. Today these bachelors are living memorials to the tragedy of the Chinese Exclusion laws.[13]

Actually though Chinatown has been described as a "bachelor society," in fact most of Chinatown's residents were married men with wives and children living in China. Though the exclusion laws prevented them from bringing their families to this country, these men decided to earn their living in the United States instead of China because of the better economic opportunities here. This arrangement known as the "separated" or "mutilated" family was a common Chinatown phenomenon, and still survives to the present.

For the separated family, personal contact was limited to periodic visits by the father to China every five or ten or twenty years, the interval depending upon his economic wherewithal. Aside from the sporadic visit, letters would be exchanged, and the father would send monetary remittances to China whenever he could. Quite often the father would bring a son over to the United States, assuming the exclusion laws did not interfere, in order to increase the family's income. This often resulted in the perpetuation of the separated family phenomenon for another generation, as the son too would marry and raise a family in China, while he earned his living in the United States.

With families being separated by the Pacific Ocean, naturally a normal family relationship was impossible. Besides the obvious problems in such a situation, the separated family system produced other deleterious effects. For one, more than one American-born Chinese wife was surprised to learn after her marriage that her Chinese husband already had a wife and children back in China. More seriously, when the time came for the separated families to reunite in America after exclusion ended, not everyone lived happily ever after, as the years of exclusion-induced separation created their own problems. Since the newly united families had previously lived in rather different cultural climates and had not been acclimated to living together as a family unit under the same roof, it was natural for there to be adjustment problems. But for many newly arrived Chinese wives and children, even more traumatic was the tremendous status adjustment which had to be made. This problem of status adjustment should not be considered as only being personal to the immediate parties involved—its repercussions extend to the entire community, and are quite evident today in Chinatowns throughout the country, as evidenced by the page one coverage afforded by American newspapers.

In Kwangtung and Hong Kong, men who had gone off to America, the land of the Golden Mountain, were held in highest esteem. Likewise, so were their families, who remained in China. Besides enjoying high status, the family of a "guest of the Golden Mountain" also experienced a relatively high living standard, as the husband in America often would deprive himself in order to maximize his remittances to his family back in China. Being used to a life of leisure and prestige, one can imagine the disillusion which resulted when the family arrived in the United States to find that their husband and father was but a common laundryman, waiter, or laborer, and that the United States was not the greater paradise that they had expected. This situation is probably one of the causes of the current discontent and unrest among immigrant Chinese youths, which has received so much publicity of late in the media. Spoiled by the high social and economic status they experienced in Hong Kong, and being at an age at which it is most difficult to accept such change, many of these adolescent youths react to the shock of this new environment by resorting to anti-social behavior. Once again the present day impact of the exclusion laws upon the Chinese community is quite clear. But for these laws, these youths would have been born and raised in the United States, and the problem of adjusting to the foreign environment would never have existed.

Up to this point in the discussion the Chinese exclusion laws have been treated as having been a complete bar to further Chinese immigration to America. But in reality, Chinese continued to migrate to this country throughout the period of exclusion—some coming legally through exemptions in the law, others illegally. Most of the legal immigration consisted of merchants and their families, who were exempted from the exclusion laws by treaty, and of foreign born children of American born Chinese, who were recognized by American law as being American citizens, and hence not subject to the exclusion laws. The legal migration of Chinese to America is not nearly as significant for our discussion as the illegal immigration, for the means employed by Chinese immigrants to evade the unjust Chinese exclusion laws still have repercussions for Chinese-Americans today.

Chinese employed both "front-door" and "back-door" approaches in circumventing the exclusion laws. At first the back door seemed to be more popular. Since the United States shared thousands of miles of frontier with Canada and Mexico, most of which was unguarded, one stood a reasonably good chance of crossing over from Mexico or Canada without being caught.[14] However, this subsequently became a less attractive means of entering the United States, after Canada tightened up her own immigration policies, and as increased border patrols heightened the risk of being caught. Furthermore the ability of such surreptitious entrants to remain in this country was extremely precarious, as they did not have the slightest color of right to be here under the existing laws.

Consequently we find that front door entry became the preferable mode of illegal entry. As has been mentioned, the exclusion laws did not apply to derivative citizens (i.e. foreign born descendants of American-born Chinese) or to merchants and their families. The Chinese quickly made use of these exemptions to circumvent the exclusion laws. In the late 19th century and the first decade of this century the most common technique was for an immigrant to pose as a merchant. This particular subterfuge was used since with the proper arrangements most anyone could qualify for this exemption, due to a strange paradox—while the term "merchant" was construed rather narrowly with respect to the types of activity which qualified a person for this status, the requirements as to what constituted a proprietary interest were rather lax. If a person were listed on the books of a United States business as having a capital investment, and if he frequented the store premises, he had a sufficient ownership interest to qualify as a merchant. It was no wonder then that many Chinatown mercantile firms commonly had dozens of partners, each qualifying as "merchants" with their $100 investments.

Being classified as a merchant had more advantages than just enabling one to gain entry into the United States. Assuming one could satisfactorily maintain his status in the eyes of the law, he could depart and re-enter the country as he pleased, and bring over his wife and children. This latter right was an especially valuable one, as merchants not only used it to bring their own families to this country, but also gained entry for others by having them masquerade as family members. The imposter *mah jeen* (merchant) wife or child may have been some peripheral relative, or even some stranger who was willing to pay well for the opportunity of coming to America.

The immigration by ersatz *ma jeen* wives and children was the forerunner of the "slot racket," an institution which has probably more influenced the behavior of the Chinese-American community than any other single factor. The "slot racket" was ingeniously simple in its inception, taking advantage of the derivative citizenship status accorded foreign-born children of American-born Chinese. Because of the exclusion laws it was not at all unusual for an American-born Chinese to have a wife in China, and for there to be periodic visits to China. Whenever a visit to China produced an offspring, the returning Chinese-American would duly inform immigration authorities of the birth to facilitate such child's coming to the United States several years hence. Seldom did a returning Chinese-American not report the birth of a child, and strangely nearly 95 per cent of the births reported were sons.[15] Some years later this son would come to America to join his father. Except that in many cases the entrant was an unrelated party who paid a good sum for the privilege of coming to America as the son, i.e., a "paper son." In fact in many cases there never was a real son in the first place. Rather, knowing that the Immigration Service couldn't possibly verify or disprove the alleged birth, the returning Chinese-American reported the birth of a son where none had been born, creating a "slot" which he knew would be worth quite a lot to someone in China who wanted to come to America. To demonstrate the magnitude of the "slot racket," one San Francisco man engineered the entry of over 250 of his relatives and clansmen, virtually all the males in his home village, over a 50-year period.[16] While it can't be determined what percentage of exclusion period entries were fraudulent, the practice was widespread. As one Chinese-American observed over a generation ago, when friends and relatives immigrated to this country it was as other men's sons, and few fathers publicly acknowledged their own sons.[17]

Actually the "slot racket" as described would not have been so important were it not for the great 1906 San Francisco earthquake. Given the small numbers of Chinese in this country there weren't that many American-born Chinese around to pass the rights of citizenship to their foreign-born children. But among other things the 1906 earthquake destroyed the citys' birth records.

Initially lack of these records proved detrimental to San Francisco-born Chinese in Geary Act violation cases, as they had the burden of affirmatively proving their American nativity to prevent deportation. But subsequently for purposes of establishing American citizenship when sending for foreign-born children and upon re-entering the country after trips abroad, no such burden existed. Hence the absence of the birth records attributable to the San Francisco earthquake enabled many alien Chinese to claim American nativity and citizenship. Given this sudden increase in native-born Chinese-Americans, the "slot racket" provided the opportunity for much greater numbers of Chinese to enter the United States. And after 1924, the "slot racket" was virtually the sole means of entry as the merchant exemption was rendered useless by a redefinition to include only those engaged in international trade.

It did not take the United States government long to catch on to the entry by bogus sons of merchants and citizens. Chinese entering the country, whether as merchants and their families, derivative citizens, foreign students or returning citizens, were subjected to a close scrutiny reserved for no one but Chinese. On arrival at the point of entry they were often detained[18] for long periods of time—up to four years—before being allowed entry or deported. While in detention they were subjected to an absurd degree of interrogation consisting of innumerable irrelevant questions dealing with trivial matters. The following sequence typifies the questioning involved.

Q: How far is your home village from town?
A: Five *li*.
Q: You are wrong. We happen to have ascertained that it is seven *li*. Do you deny that this is not your true home village?
A: I have lived in this village all my life, and I believe it is five *li*. Besides, it depends upon which end of the village you figure the distance from.
Q: Where is the village pond?
A: In front of the village.
Q: I mean in what direction in relation to the village? Northwest? Southwest?
A: I believe it is to the north.
Q: Surely if you have lived there all your life, you would know in what direction the village pond lies.
A: I am confused about what is north and south. All I know is that when I leave the front door and turn left, that is the direction of the village pond.
Q: How many pigs does your family keep?
A: Two.
Q: How many chickens?
A: It depends. When we kill one, there are fewer chickens until the hen hatches more eggs.
Q: Where is your water urn situated?
A: At the kitchen door.
Q: Is your house one story or two stories?
A: There is an attic.
Q: Are there steps to the attic?
A: Yes.

Q: How many?
A. Twelve.
Q: How do you know?
A: I counted them because I was told you would ask me questions like these.
Q: Then you were coached in the answers to be given. You rehearsed and memorized all this information to make us think you are the son of Wong Hing.
A: No, no, no. I was not coached. I am the true son of Wong Hing, my father, who is now in San Francisco. He told me that you would ask me questions like these and that I was to be prepared to answer them in the most minute detail.[19]

Multiply this excerpt by several hundreds or thousands and you have an idea of what a prospective Chinese entrant faced.[20]

The objective of this kind of questioning was to trick the Chinese entrant into contradicting either something he said before or the testimony of another witness. Supposedly such a contradiction would be proof positive that the entrant was really not who he claimed to be, providing grounds for deportation. The Chinese countered to this intense interrogation with "coaching," alluded to in the preceding excerpt. As part of the purchase price for a "slot," the prospective "paper son" was provided detailed family history and other information which would prepare him for any question he might be asked.

In effect Chinese immigration to America degenerated into a game, with innocent Chinese ending up as losers. The Immigration Service dedicated itself not to the fair administration of the law, but instead to excluding as many Chinese as possible, irrespective of the person's right to come here.[21] The actions of the Immigration Service were so outragous that one Federal judge reprimanded the Service in his written opinion overturning the exclusion of a Chinese entrant.[22] The end result was that "paper sons" were usually well coached and passed the examination, while legitimate applicants were sometimes denied entry.Take the case of Mock Kee Song, who had made five trips to China over a thirty year period, and had been re-admitted each time as a returning American citizen. He even gained entry for five of his children as derivative citizens. But when he returned from his sixth visit to China he failed to convince the Immigration Service of his American citizenship and was ordered deported to China.[23] While there is no indication whether he actually was an American citizen there was no doubt in the case of an American born girl, Helen Lee. Her relatives, knowing of the intense interrogation precedent to entry back to America, gave her coaching papers as a precaution to cope with the Immigration Service's questions. However the coaching papers were discovered before her questioning and because she had these papers in her possession she was deported to China.[24]

Getting past the immigration examiners was but the first hurdle for a "paper son," for so long as he stayed in the United States he was subject to deportation if unmasked. The result was what Pardee Lowe described as a "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" society abounding with disruptive forces traceable to the exclusion laws. "Everybody, officially at least, had a split personality. Aliases were the rule rather than the exception. Father warned me to be extremely careful. For instance, I was not to call Father's business neighbor Mr. Wang in front of any Barbarian, but to hail him as Mr. Fan instead. But in our own Chinatown circle I was to continue to call him Mr. Wang. He wouldn't like it at all, Father said, if I made a mistake."[25] Detection meant deportation, so everybody in Chinatown had to play the name game. Mr. Wang's papers showed he was the son of someone named Fan, so he had to go under the name of Fan when dealing with non-Chinese. But all the Chinese knew that he was really Mr. Wang, and addressed him in that way. Even to this day Chinese-Americans speak in hushed tones when talking about true family surnames.

The danger of discovery was real and ever present in Chinatown. Surprise raids on Chinese establishments and even street questioning in Chinatown by immigration inspectors were commonplace. With immigration inspectors continually on the prowl a low profile was mandatory—even if a person had not illegally immigrated himself, chances were many of his relatives and friends had. Though the Immigration Service was but one branch of one level of government, all government bodies were avoided lest the immigration authorities somehow become involved. Chinese could not be found on welfare rolls during the depression—not necessarily because it wasn't needed, but because government contact could not be risked. Similarly the low crime rate in the Chinese community was in part illusory, as many offenses were dealt with within the community so that the police, another branch of the government, would not become involved. Private disputes were kept out of American courts and settled by quasi-judicial bodies within the Chinese community. Even the census taker was avoided—and hence Chinese population statistics are inaccurate.

With so many governmental services being eschewed by the Chinese community it is not surprising to find that a separate "inner government" developed in Chinatown, usually known as the Six Companies or the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. These organizations pre-dated Chinese exclusion laws, having arisen to meet the needs of Chinese immigrants who arrived in America during the years of overt anti-Chinese hostility. With the imposition of Chinese exclusion, the need for this "inner government" continued, as it provided many of the services which the outside government would have provided, had the Chinese chosen to accept them. In the process, the "inner government" became recognized as the voice of the entire Chinese community vis-a-vis the outside world. Recently there has been much criticism of the Chinatown "inner government" by those who feel it is interested more in perpetuating its own power than in meeting the needs of the community. The "inner government" is not as representative of Chinese-American community as it once was,[26] and does not carry the same weight it once did, though some members of the non-Chinese community still consider it to be representative of the Chinese community. But the fact that such an institution still exists today in America is directly attributable to the Chinese exclusion laws.

The need to avoid government contact spawned a general attitude of non-involvement within the Chinese-American community which still is apparent to some extent today. Chinese did not get involved with outside affairs, and outsiders did not become part of the Chinese community. By turning inward to protect the vulnerable members of the community, the acculturation process among the Chinese in the United States was greatly slowed. While other factors are also involved this helps explain why Chinese-Americans are more reserved and get less involved than other groups in this country.

Personal relationships within the Chinese-American community were also influenced by the "slot racket" and its ramifications. One's prior illegal entry set him up as a target for blackmail and extortion, and put him at the mercy of persons with knowledge of this. Witness the case of a paper son who subsequently became a community leader in New York. Some 35 years after his illegal entry he was reported to the Immigration Service by a disgruntled employee, and was forced to expend everything he had earned to defend himself in Court.[27] In another instance a man sent an anonymous letter to the Immigration Service telling of his wife's previous illegal entry, so that he could marry another woman.[28] One cannot document the extent which this sort of activity prevailed, but according to one respected observer, the Chinese-American community was a veritable web of slot related intrigue, blackmail, intimidation and slander.[29]

For those Chinese who illegally entered the United States decades ago, deportation is no longer a real danger by virtue of 1957 legislation allowing "paper sons" to readjust their status by confessing to their false entry. Also, the existence of the Communist government on the Chinese mainland makes deportation unlikely anyway. Nevertheless the social and personal disorganization[30] related to the slot racket are still present today.

The exclusion acts did more than just limit the immigration of Chinese to the United States. They created an aberrated sub-society where distortions touched every aspect of daily life, the effects of which are strongly reflected today. As recently as 1940 there was but one Chinese female in the United States per three Chinese males, and even in 1950 the ratio was still nearly 2 males per female. This shortage of women caused by the exclusion laws created a society in which anti-social activities replaced the normal social relationships which were lacking. Hence tong wars, gambling and the like held a disproportionate role in the community picture. This in turn served to aggravate the already unfavorable image the Chinese community had in the minds of the American public. The continuing danger of apprehension which faced community members who had come to the United States in contravention of the exclusion laws turned Chinatown into a secretive, suspicious, introverted, withdrawn community, in which every move had to be weighed in advance for its potential consequences. Deception did not end once one's credentials were accepted by the Immigration Service, as it was necessary to continue the impersonation in order to stay here. The deception continued when other relatives, either paper or genuine, came to America, as it was necessary to be consistent with past statements made to immigration officials. Hence paper relatives and their progeny became real parts of one's family tree, since failure to do so would arouse suspicion. Even children were indoctrinated as to their paper relatives just in case they might someday be questioned by the Immigration Service.[31] Given this Jekyll-Hyde society it was natural that deception and self delusion spread to other facets of life, often resulting in feelings of guilt, marginal behavior and psychological damage and mental illness.[32]

According to one writer, the three most pressing problems of Chinatown today are those of the elderly, the immigrants and of juvenile delinquency.[33] All of these problems can be linked to some extent to the exclusion laws. The elderly would not be cut off from their families today had they been allowed to bring them to the United States in the past. Now these sojourners are sentenced to live their lives out in loneliness. The sudden influx of Chinese immigrants following the years of exclusion and restriction has caused problems which would not have been so great had there been a more orderly immigration flow in the past. Unemployment, overcrowding, delinquency and the other ghetto and poverty problems in Chinatown which the new immigrants face are the direct results of too many newcomers arriving at the same time.[34] If there had been no Chinese exclusion many of today's immigrants would have arrived here years ago, instead of arriving now all at once. For many, the adjustments to a new country and a new life would have been a lot easier if they could have immigrated during the exclusion period. Middle aged wives who had seen their husbands but once or twice in China are much less adaptable to family life in the United States than they would have been as brides. For the children of the separated families, the exclusion laws meant growing up in one culture, then being transplanted to another, oftentimes with unfortunate results. Indeed the effects of the exclusion laws have been and continue to be far reaching.

The fact that the Chinese exclusion laws have more or less been forgotten is a tragedy in itself. Not only is there a lack of awareness of these laws among the general public, but many younger Chinese-Americans too are unaware of this episode of the Chinese experience in America. The tragedy is that the Chinese themselves have been blamed for certain conditions and behavior patterns, both in the past and the present, and by non-Chinese and Chinese alike, when the real culprit was the Chinese exclusion laws. Hopefully this is one tragedy which can be remedied.

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[1] These topics are covered generally in a number of recent works, such as Victor and Brett Nee, *Longtime Californ'* (Pantheon, 1973); Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold* (Macmillan, 1967); Calvin Lee, *Chinatown U.S.A.* (Doubleday, 1965); and Richard Dillon, *The*

Hatchet Men (Coward-McCann, 1962). A detailed analysis interrelating the anti-Chinese movement and anti-Chinese legislation appears in Lucille Eaves, *California Labor Legislation* (U. of California, 1910), p. 105-196. The administration of the Chinese Exclusion Laws is exhaustively treated in Wen-Hsien Chen, *Chinese Under Both Exclusion and Immigration Laws* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Chicago, 1940).

[2] This provision was modified in 1894 to permit laborers with family or property in the United States to return to the United States after leaving, provided they returned within a year after departing the country. No distinction was made between various countries under the Scott Act, i.e. a one day trip to Juarez, Mexico or Windsor, Canada would invoke this law. And if a Chinese laborer went to China (or Canada or Mexico) and somehow managed to get in the country again, he still would be subject to deportation if it could be proved that he left the country. Numerous Chinese were deported after being identified as having been seen on some past occasion in a Mexican or Canadian border city.

[3] Since, according to the United States Supreme Court, deportation was not criminal punishment, the safeguards of due process were not necessary. *Fong Yue Ting v. United States,* 149 U.S. 698 (1892).

[4] Around the turn of the century an American born Chinese could not be assured of being able to establish his American birth. The state of the vital record keeping art was not far advanced, and Chinese testimony often carried little weight in administrative and court proceedings. Due to the hostility of the outside community even American-born Chinese did not venture outside of Chinatown, and consequently were often indistinguishable from their China-born brethren. An absurd sidelight on the Geary Act comes from the tale of an American born Chinese named Chin Den, who served time in the Washington Federal Penitentiary for impersonating an alien Chinese laborer. See *Harpers' Weekly*, Mar. 27, 1915.

[5] The term 'Chinese Exclusion Laws" will be used to describe only those laws enacted expressly against Chinese immigration to America, i.e. the 1882, Scott and Geary Acts.

[6] No such rule existed for China-born husbands of American-born Chinese women. In fact in such a situation the American-born woman lost her American citizenship, and if she ever left the United States she could not return. For just such a case see *Ex parte Fung Sing*, 6 F. 2d 670 (1925).

[7] See Rose Hum Lee, "The Chinese In The United States Today—The War Has Changed Their Lives," *Survey*, October, 1942, p. 419.

[8] The appearance of Chinese in the defense plants was a newsworthy event which was chronicled by articles in national periodicals with titles like "Chinese on the Job" and "Chinese Daughters of Uncle Sam."

[9] There was scattered opposition from labor, veterans and patriotic groups.

[10] Actually the quota of 105 was for aliens of Chinese descent, no matter what their country of origin.

[11] See for example, Charles F. Holder, "Chinese Slavery in America," *North American Review*, September, 1897, page 288-294; Charles Shepherd, *The Ways of Ah Sin* (Fleming Revell Co., 1923); Henry Cutter, "Chinese Gambling," *California Illustrated Magazine*, March 1894, p. 312-317; "The Chinese Tong Wars in San Francisco," *Harper's Weekly*, August 11, 1900, p. 746-7; "The Truth About The Tongs," *Popular Mechanics*, June, 1929, p. 914-924; Frederick J. Masters, "Opium and Its Votaries," *California Illustrated Magazine*, May, 1892, p. 631-645; this latter article was replete with flash pictures taken in a Chinatown opium den by a surprise photographic raiding party, and included a four page preface describing how the opium den pictures were taken.

[12] Such behavior prevailed well into this century. See Paul C. P. Siu, *The Chinese Laundryman, A Study of Social Isolation* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1953), especially Chapter X, for an insight into the social life of Chinese bachelors. (A condensed version of this work appears in a 1964 book entitled *Contributions to Urban Sociology*.)

[13] See Nee and Nee, op cit, p. 13-122.

[14] For contemporary accounts in the popular press of surreptitious border crossings by Chinese, see Julian Ralph, "The Chinese Leak," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, March, 1891, p. 515-525, and 'Chock-Gee No Got," *The Saturday Evening Post*, July 25, 1925, p. 12.

[15] According to the 1925 Annual Report of the United States Immigration Service, 15 out of every 16 births reported were sons. To the government this reeked of fraud. How-

ever, since Chinese prized sons much more than daughters, one could argue that returning Chinese just didn't bother to report most female births.

[16] *Time Magazine*, January 20, 1958, p. 17.

[17] Pardee Lowe, *Father and Glorious Descendant* (Little, Brown, 1942), p. 122.

[18] For a first hand account, see Yu-Shan Han, "In The 'Detention Room' at Seattle," *The World Tomorrow*, April, 1928, p. 175-6. Keep in mind that the writer was one of the very lucky ones in that he was released almost immediately after arriving.

[19] Sung, p. 101.

[20] This does not mean to imply that every Chinese entering the country faced such an inquisition. Chinese arriving at ports other than San Francisco often were admitted without difficulty, as were passengers who arrived on first class passage.

[21] For the exasperating experiences of a Chinese scholar, see Fu Chi Hao, M.A., "My Reception In America," *Outlook*, Aug. 10, 1907, pp. 770-773.

[22] See the opinion of Judge Dooling in *Ex parte Tom Toy Tin*, 230 F 747 (1916).

[23] *Mock Kee Song v. Cahill*, 94 F.2d 975 (1938).

[24] Wen-Hsien Chen, p. 417.

[25] Pardee Lowe, p. 122.

[26] For example it continues to unflinchingly support the Nationalist Chinese government, while a broad range of views on the matter exists among Chinese-Americans.

[27] Sung, p. 105.

[28] Wen-Hsien Chen, p. 418.

[29] Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Hong Kong University, 1960), p. 300-304.

[30] ibid, Chapters 14 and 15.

[31] Timothy J. Molloy, "A Century of Chinese Immigration: A Brief Review," *Monthly Review*, p. 74.

[32] For an example, see Nee and Nee, p. 13. Also see Rose Hum Lee (1960), p. 305.

[33] Pei-Ngor Chen, "The Chinese Community in Los Angeles," *Social Casework*, December, 1970.

[34] David R. Chan, "The Five Chinatowns of Los Angeles," *Bridge Magazine*, February, 1973, p. 45.

Comment: L. Eve Armentrout, *University of California, Davis*

10:45-11:00 a.m. Break.

11:00-12:00 noon

YUNG WING—FIRST CHINESE GRADUATE FROM A U.S. UNIVERSITY

By

LO HSIANG-LIN

(Presented in a Chinese Lecture. The lecture, with additional material from Yung Wing's Autobiography was written in English by C. Y. Hsu, Editor of *The Asian Student*, San Francisco, and presented here.)

Yung Wing (1828-1912), the first Chinese to graduate from a well-known American university, was a progressive thinker, reformer, revolutionary, educator and advocate of Western education for Chinese youths. While there may have been Chinese youths who came to the United States to enter school, records show that he was the first Chinese graduate from a prestigious institution of higher learning – Yale College – in 1854 and made his mark in the history of modern China.

This first distinguished Chinese returned student from the United States played an outstanding role in the modernization of China. Of particular importance was his advocacy of sending young Chinese to the United States to study at a time when China was still proud of her own ancient heritage and looked upon the Western "barbarian" countries with hatred and resentment after the Opium War of 1839-42 and the occupation of Peking by a joint Anglo-French force in 1860.

By proposing to send Chinese youths to the United States to receive modern education Yung Wing sowed the seeds of the new cultural movement and paved the way for cultural exchange between China and the West.

Yung Wing was born on November 17, 1828 in the village of Nam Ping (South Screen), about four miles southwest of the Portuguese colony of Macao. When he was barely seven years old, his father took him to Macao where the London Missionary Society was planning the establishment of a Morrison Education Society School in memory of the British missionary Robert Morrison (1728-1834). Before the opening of the school, Yung Wing whom his father wanted to enroll in the new school, enrolled temporarily in Mrs. K. F. A. Gutslaff's girls' school. He was one of two boys in the boys' department. When the girls' school was disbanded, he returned to his native village to resume his Chinese studies. In the fall of 1840, while the Opium War was still going on, his father died. He and one of his brothers went peddling candy to help support the family. When winter was over and when no candy was made, he went into the fields to glean rice after the reapers.

When the Morrison Education Society School was opened on November 1, 1839, under the charge of the Rev. Samuel Robins Brown, a graduate of

Yale of the class of 1832, he enrolled and continued his schooling. In 1842, when Hong Kong was ceded to Britain according to the Nanking Treaty which concluded the Opium War, the school was moved to the British colony.

In 1846, Brown left Hong Kong to return to the United States because of ill health and he took three brilliant students: Yung Wing, Wong Shing and Wong Foon with him to continue their education in America. They arrived in the United States on April 12, 1847. The three young men entered Monson Academy, Monson, Massachusetts. In the summer of 1850, Yung Wing and Wong Foon graduated from the academy, Wong Shing having returned to China in 1848 because of poor health. Wong Foon went to Scotland and entered the University of Edinburgh to study medicine while Yung Wing enrolled at Yale College (renamed Yale University in 1887) at New Haven, supported by the Ladies Association in Savannah, Georgia.

He studied hard. "I used to sweat over my studies till 12 o'clock every night the whole Freshman year. I took little or no exercise and my health and strength began to fail and I was obliged to ask for a leave of absence of a week. I went to East Windsor to get rested and came back refreshed," he said.

He detested mathematics, especially differential and integrated calculus but distinguished himself in English composition. In competition he won first prize in his division in the second term and the third term. For a time he was assistant librarian to the "Brothers in Unity" which was one of the two college debating societies (Linonia was the other) that owned a library, and of which he was a member. When he graduated from Yale in 1854, he attracted much attention as being the first Chinese who had ever been known to go through a first-class American college.

All the time while he was studying at Yale, he was sorry to see the lamentable conditions of China—internal corruption and external aggression and felt keenly the responsibility of redressing the wrongs in the Fatherland. In his moments of despondency he regretted the Western education he had received for it had opened his eyes to the reality.

"What am I going to do with my education?" he often asked himself during his closing days at Yale. He was determined that the rising generation of China should have the same educational privileges as he and through Western education China might be regenerated and modernized. Thus the idea of having Chinese youths educated abroad was germinated.

In the winter of 1854 he returned to China. After visiting his mother in the native village, he took up residence in Canton in the summer of 1855. The Taiping Rebellion had already broken out. To suppress the rebels Viceroy Yeh Ming-hsin of Kwangtung and Kwangsi massacred the people indiscriminately. Yung Wing, whose residence was half a mile from the execution ground saw the place strewn with headless human trunks and decapitated heads drenched with human blood. His heart sank within him at the gruesome sight and sympathized with the Taiping cause that the Manchu government must be overthrown.

To make a living he secured a job as private secretary to Dr. Peter Parker, U.S. Commissioner, whom he knew while he was at Mrs. Gutslaff's school. The post of U.S. Commissioner was a temporary expedient to take the place of an accredited Minister Plenipotentiary in Peking—a diplomatic appointment still under negotiation. But he served for only three months. Then he went to Hong Kong and thence to Shanghai where he secured a post in the Imperial Customs Translation Department. He found a regular system of graft in the Customs and he resigned after only four months as he did not want to tarnish his own name. In 1859 he took a trip through Chekiang, Kiangsi, Hunan and Hupeh to visit the tea districts on behalf of the firm Messrs. Dent & Co.

On November 6th of the same year he left Shanghai with two American missionaries and a Chinese named Tang Lai-sun to visit the Taipings in Nanking. His purpose was to find out whether the Taipings were the men fitted to set up a new government to replace the decadent Manchu dynasty. The party was received by Hung Jen-kan, a cousin of Hung Hsiu-chuan, the Heavenly King of the Taipings. He had known Hung Jen-kan in Hong Kong. The latter, baptized by the Rev. Theodore Hamburg of the Basel Mission in Canton, was intelligent, broad-minded and possessed a knowledge of Christianity and other Western ideas. Arriving eventually in Nanking from Hong Kong to join the Taipings, he was made a prince and enjoyed the confidence of the Heavenly King. In the later stage of the Taipings, he played an important role in formulating and determining the policies of the regime.

Yung Wing presented to the Taipings the following proposals:

1. To organize an army on scientific principles.
2. To establish a military school for the training of competent military officers.
3. To establish a naval school for a navy.
4. To organize a civil government with able and experienced men to act as advisors in the different departments of administration.
5. To establish a banking system, and to determine on a standard of weights and measures.
6. To establish an educational system of graded schools for the people, making the Bible one of the textbooks.
7. To organize a system of industrial schools.[1]

Hung Jen-kan thought highly of his suggestions and wanted to secure his services. But he told Yung Wing that he could not promise that the political reforms he suggested would be implemented for they needed the approval of the princes, most of whom were at the time away from the city on military expeditions. Seeing that there was no immediate chance of carrying out his proposals, Yung Wing returned to Shanghai.

His assessment of the Taiping Rebellion is given in his autobiography *My Life in China and America:* "The Taiping Rebellion, after 15 years of incessant and desultory fighting, collapsed and passed into oblivion, without leaving any traces of its career worthy of historical commemoration behind the fact that it was the outburst of a religious fanaticism which held the Christian world in doubt and bewilderment, by reason of its Christian origin. It left no trace of its Christian element behind either in Nanking, where it sojourned for nearly 10 years, or in Kwangsi, where it had its birth. In China, neither new political ideas nor political theories or principles were discovered which would have constituted the basal facts of a new form of government. So that neither in the religious nor yet in the political world was mankind in China or out of China benefited by that movement. The only good that resulted from the Taiping Rebellion was that God made use of it as a dynamic power to break up the stagnancy of a great nation and wake up its consciousness of a new national life, as subsequent events in 1894, 1895, 1898, 1900, 1901, and 1904-1905 fully demonstrated."[2]

In 1863, Viceroy Tseng Kuo-fan, then successfully leading an imperial campaign against the Taipings, extended an invitation to Yung Wing through two of his friends, Chang Ssu-kuei and Li Shan-lan, to visit the Viceroy at his headquarters in Anking, capital of Anhwei Province. In September of that year he reached Anking and had two interviews with the Viceroy. The outcome was that he was entrusted with the mission of setting up a general machine shop capable of manufacturing rifles, cannons, cartridges, etc. Yung Wing purchased machinery from Fitchburg, Mass., and set up the machine shop at Kao-chang Miao, about four miles northwest of the city of Shanghai, in 1865. The machine shop was afterwards known as the Kiang-nan Arsenal. In 1866, when Viceroy Tseng visited the arsenal, Yung Wing persuaded him to establish a school of mechanical engineering at the arsenal to train Chinese youths in this field. The following year a translation office was added to the arsenal to translate scientific works. The arsenal became a center of Western science and technology that helped the modernization of China.

In 1867, Yung Wing went to Soochow to call on an old friend, Ting Jih-chang, Governor of Kiangsu Province, who was interested in Western ideas. He urged the Governor to inaugurate a new educational program. Ting asked him to submit his plan to the Premier, Wen Hsiang, who was known to be liberal-minded and progressive. Yung Wing drew up four proposals as follows:

1. A steamship company should be organized on a joint stock basis. It was to be a purely Chinese company, managed and staffed by Chinese exclusively. An annual government subsidy was to be made in the form of a percentage of the tribute rice carried to Peking from Shanghai and Chinkiang.

2. The government should send Chinese youths to the United States to receive modern education. One hundred and twenty students were to be sent on an experimental basis, in four years—30 each year. They were to finish their education abroad, in 15 years. Their average age was to be from 12 to 14 years. Two commissioners were to be appointed to supervise the students while abroad.

3. The government should employ scientific methods to open up the mineral resources and build railways to transport the mineral products.

4. In order to avoid untoward incidents the government should prohibit missionaries of any religious sect or denomination from interfering with the people's legal proceedings, since this would encroach upon China's sovereignty.[3]

But the death of Wen Hsiang's mother sent the son into the customary mourning and retirement from officialdom for three years and the proposals were shelved. However, in 1870 when there was a missionary incident in Tientsin, Viceroy Tseng and Governor Ting were commissioned jointly to settle the case. Yung Wing urged Governor Ting to present his new educational scheme to Viceroy Tseng. The viceroy was impressed with his scheme and memorialized the Court jointly with Viceroy Li-Hung-chang of Chihli on the scheme. In 1871, the Court accepted the proposal and appointed Ch'en Lan-pin, clerk of the Board of Justice, and Yung Wing as Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner for the scheme. In that year the first batch of 30 pupils were selected in Shanghai and Hong Kong. The parents of the pupils were required to sign papers in which they agreed to let their sons go abroad and be educated there for a period of 15 years, and not to hold the government responsible for death or any accident that might befall the youths.

In 1872, this first group of pupils sailed across the ocean to the United States, accompanied by Ch'en Lan-ping. Yung Wing had left earlier for the United States to arrange their enrollment and accommodations. He set up his headquarters at Springfield, Mass., as the Chinese Educational Commission. The second group of pupils left for the United States in 1873, the third group in 1874, and the fourth group in 1875. A total of 120 pupils sent by the government were now in the United States.

In 1874, Yung Wing put up a handsome, spacious building on Collins Street, Hartford, Conn., as the permanent headquarters of the commission. It was big enough to accommodate the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner, the interpreter, teachers and 70 or 80 pupils.

Most of the pupils were intelligent and industrious and were well liked by their American teachers. William Lyon Phelps in his *Autobiography and Letters* said that many of his Chinese schoolmates at Hartford High School were bright and well-behaved. "I could clearly recall everyone of the Chinese schoolmates such as Auyang King, Kong Kin Ling, Ting Sze Chung, Wong Kai Kah, Chuck Yen Chi, Tso Ki Foo, Tseng Tuk Kun and all others. Chung Mun Yew was one of the class of 1883 in Yale University, and all his schoolmates respected him. He was a member of a boat crew, and during the boat race, he steered his boat with such skill and composedness as if he were just practicing," he wrote.

In another entry in his *Autobiography*, he said, "The most intimate schoolmate of mine was a Chinese whose name was Tso Ki Foo. He was young but mature, appearing grown-up and very composed. I feared I might never compete with him in that respect. In the classroom he even began translating Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, a thing that I had never heard of."[4]

Ch'en Lan-ping, the Commissioner, took exception to the pupils befriending the Americans and to their attendance at Sunday schools and church services. He returned to China in 1875 but later the government appointed him Minister to the United States and Yung Wing Associate Minister. Yung Wing was reluctant to leave the educational scheme and go to Washington. He petitioned the government to relieve him of the Associate Ministership. The government allowed him to retain the Deputy Educational Commissionership while assuming the Associate Ministership.

At this time Wu Hui-shan was appointed Educational Commissioner. He was a crank and he accused Yung Wing in secret reports to the Tsung-li Yamen (Board of Foreign Affairs), of indulging and petting the pupils. It happened that Yung Wing's application to the U.S. State Department for admission of some Chinese students into the American military and naval academies was rejected. This led Wu Hui-shan and Ch'en Lan-ping jointly to plan to wreck the educational mission.

At this time the U.S. Government prohibited the entry of Chinese laborers. Conservative elements proposed to the Chinese Government to recall the students from the United States as a protest. Ch'en Lan-ping and Wu Hui-shan supported the idea and Yung Wing was left helpless.

The Chinese Government order to recall the students was issued in 1881. A joint letter was sent by President Porter of Yale, Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, Rev. John W. Lane, Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), T. F. Frelinghuysen, John Russell Young and others to the Tsung-li Yamen asking it to cancel the recall of the students. But the attempt was in vain.

Mark Twain recalled this event in his *Autobiography:* "About 1879 or 1880 the Chinese pupils in Hartford and other New England towns had been ordered home by the Chinese government. There were two parties in the Chinese government—one headed by Li Hung-chang, the progressive party, which was striving to introduce Western arts and education into China; the other was opposed to all progressive measures. Li Hung-chang and the progressive party kept the upper hand for some time, and during this period the government had sent one hundred or more of the country's choicest youth over here to be educated. By now the other party had got the upper hand and had ordered these young people home. At this time an old Chinaman named Quong (Ch'en), a non-progressionist, was the chief China minister at Washington, and Yung Wing was his assistant. The order disbanding the schools was a great blow to Yung Wing, who had spent many years in working for their establishment. This order came upon him with the suddenness of a thundercap. He did not know which way to turn."[5]

Mark Twain said that he went with Rev. Twichell to New York to see General Grant at the Fifth Avenue Hotel to attach his name to the joint petition to the Tsung-li Yamen but the general said he would write a personal letter to Li Hung-chang whom he had met, saying that the recall of the pupils was a mistake. The letter was prepared right away and sent. He wrote that shortly after a cablegram came from the Chinese government ordering the Chinese Minister to continue the pupils' schooling in this country. Here Mark Twain's memory was incorrect. Actually the Chinese did not rescind its order of recalling the pupils.

Of the 120 Chinese pupils Yung Wing wrote in *My Life in China and America:* "Quite a number of survivors of the one hundred odd students, I am happy to say, have risen to high official ranks and positions of great trust and responsibility."[6] Many of them became high officials, diplomats, engineers and physicians. Most prominent among the first group were Liang Tun-yen who became *Shang Shu* (Minister) of the Board of Foreign Affairs in 1908 and Jeme Tien-yau, known as the "King of Railways," whose achievement in railway construction is ever remembered in a bronze statue erected in 1919 at Pa-ta Ling near Chu-yung Pass.

Among the second group were Tong Kuo-on, an educator, who, together with Liang Tun-yen and Liang Shing, urged the U.S. Government to return the Boxer Indemnity with which funds Tsing Hua College (later University) was founded to prepare students to be educated in the United States; and Tsai Ting-kan, a well-known diplomat. Among the third group were Tong Shao-yi who became *Shang Shu* (Minister) of the Board of Posts and Telegraph, and who was appointed delegate by the Manchu Government to negotiate peace with the Provisional Government of the Republic of China in 1911; and Liang Shih-yi who was Premier in the Republican Government in 1921-22. Prominent in the fourth group were Liang Shing who was appointed Minister to Washington in 1903 and, influenced by Yung Wing, brought with him some 20 self-supporting Chinese students to the United States; and Liu Yu-lin, who became Minister to the Court of St. James.[7]

Not long after the recall of the Chinese students, Yung Wing also left the United States to return to China as his educational mission had expired. But in the spring of 1882 he hurried back to the United States when he heard that his American wife, Mary Kellogg, was seriously ill. She passed away on June 28, 1886 and Yung Wing remained in the United States to take care of his two young sons.

In 1895, at the summons of the Viceroy of Kiangsu and Chekiang, Chang Chih-tung, he arrived in Shanghai to present a proposal for a new policy of strength through reform for China. But the Viceroy, in the circumstances he found himself, could not accept Yung Wing's proposal. He then went to Peking and discussed with Chang Yin-huan, a senior member of the Tsung-li Yamen, the establishment of a national bank and later he also proposed the construction of a railway connecting Tientsin and Chen-chiang. Both plans fell through.

In 1889, Emperor Kwang Hsu, adopting the views of K'ang Yu-wei, T'an Tz'u-tung and Liang Ch'i-chao, instituted the Hundred-Day Reform. The

Empress-Dowager Tzu Hsi who sided with the conservatives and was opposed to the reforms reassumed the regency, imprisoned the Emperor and had six reformers including T'an Tz'u-tung beheaded.

Yung Wing who associated with the reformers was suspect. He fled to Shanghai and took up residence in the International Settlement. Here he supported the Chung-kuo Ch'iang Hsueh Hui (Society for China's Strengthening) whose object was the discussion of political reforms and was elected its president. The Manchu government ordered his arrest and he fled to Hong Kong in 1889.

In Hong Kong, he tried to bring together all anti-government groups to bring about a change in government. He associated with the reformers under K'ang Yu-wei and also the revolutionaries under Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In 1902, Hsieh Tsan-tai and Li Chi-tang, members of the Hsing Chung Hui, predecessor of the Kuomintang, plotted with Hung Chuan fu, a survivor of the Taiping Rebellion, to secure the cooperation of the Triad Society to start an uprising in Canton. They decided that if the uprising was a success, they would establish a Ta-Ming Hsun-T'ien-Kuo (Great Ming Heaven-Abiding Republic) and to elect Yung Wing president. When they broached the subject to Yung Wing, he praised their bold scheme but said that support and recognition of foreign nations, especially the United States, was necessary for any new government. He left Hong Kong for the United States in September of that year to solicit U.S. support. But the Manchus soon learned of the plot and nipped it in the bud.

In the United States Yung Wing came to know Charles B. Boothe and Homer Lea, who were both helping Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his revolutionary efforts. In 1905 he introduced Boothe and Lea to K'ang Yu-wei who was visiting the United States, accompanied by his daughter Tung-pi. In June that year Lea invited K'ang to inspect the Chinese cadets in training.

On October 19, 1908 Emperor Kwang Hsu passed away and the Empress Dowager Tsu Hsi also died a day after. Pu Yi, only three years old, was put on the throne with his father Prince Chun as Regent. In view of the changed situation, Yung Wing wrote to Boothe and Lea in January, 1909 that Dr. Sun Yat-sen was now the recognized revolutionary leader of China and they should help him realize his plans and ideals.

In November, 1909, Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived in New York. Yung Wing wrote to Boothe and Lea to arrange a secret meeting of Dr. Sun Yat-set and his revolutionaries at Long Beach, California, in mid-March, 1910. The meeting was held at Lea's residence there and passed the following important resolutions:

1. The Chinese revolutionaries shall temporarily suspend the inadequately prepared uprisings along the Yangtze River valley and in South China and consolidate their manpower and resources for a large-scale uprising sometime later.

2. As president of the Tung Men Hui, Dr. Sun Yat-sen shall appoint

Charles B. Boothe Overseas Financial Representative to confer with the New York consortium for a loan for the large-scale uprising.

3. Chinese cadets trained in the United States shall be dispatched to China to strengthen the revolutionary force.

4. The loan to be negotiated shall be U.S. $3,500,000 to be paid in four installments of $650,000, $1,100,000, $1,050,000 and $795,000 respectively.

After the Long Beach conference, Dr. Sun Yat-sen traveled to Honolulu, Yokohama, Singapore and Penang to intensify the revolutionary movement. On October 12, 1910, he called a secret meeting of the revolutionaries at Penang at which it was decided to stage a big uprising in Canton, to send revolutionaries to the Wuhan tri-cities and elsewhere along the Yangtze River to instigate the new armies there to revolt and to establish a revolutionary headquarters in Hong Kong. In January, 1911, the headquarters was set up at No. 35, Happy Valley, Hong Kong and on March 29 an uprising was staged in Canton. Under the leadership of Huang Hsing the revolutionaries attacked the headquarters of the Viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Though the uprising failed, it struck fear into the hearts of the Manchu officials. Seventy-two revolutionaries were killed. Their remains were buried at Huang Hua Kang (Yellow Flower Knoll), outside Canton.[8]

But on October 10, 1911, the Chinese Revolution broke out in Wuchang, toppling the Manchu dynasty. The boy Emperor abdicated. Dr. Sun Yat-sen who arrived in Nanking toward the end of the year, accompanied by Lea was elected President of the Provisional Government. On January 1, 1912, he assumed the Presidency and the Republic of China came into existence.

Dr. Sun appointed Lea High Military Adviser and sent a lengthy cablegram to Yung Wing in the United States, urging him to return to China to help "found a unified Chinese government and consolidate the infant republic." But Yung Wing, then 85, and in ill health, could not make the trip. He passed away in Hartford, Mass. on April 22, 1912 and was buried there. He was survived by his two sons: Morrison Brown, the elder and Bartlett G., the younger.

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1. Yung Wing: *My Life in China and America.* Henry Holt & Co., 1909, p. 109.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
3. Ibid., pp. 171-175.
4. Phelps, William Lyon: *Autobiography and Letters*, 1939, pp. 56-59.
5. Mark Twain's *Autobiography*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1924, pp. 21-24.
6. Yung Wing: *My Life in China and America*, p. 216.
7. "Yung Hung [Wing] and Foreign Schemes" in Lo Hsiang-lin: *Hong Kong and Western Cultures*. The Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo: East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1963, pp. 109-115.
8. Much of the information about Yung Wing's revolutionary activities is from "*Tsao-ch'i liu-hsueh, Mei-kuo ti Yung Hung yu Chung-hua-min-kuo chuang-li kuan-hsi*" (Yung Wing, An Early Chinese Student in the United States and the Founding of the Republic of China), a Chinese lecture given by Prof. Lo Hsiang-lin at the National Conference of the Chinese Historical Society of America, July 10-12, 1975 in San Francisco.

12:00- 1:00 p.m. Lunch.

1:00- 2:00 p.m.

#9 – RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND THE CHINESE

Chairman: Stanford M. Lyman, *New School for Social Research, New York*

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES

By

KAREN C. WONG

The history of discrimination against Chinese is very unique, for though the Chinese people contributed so much toward the building and greatness of America, they were singled out both as a people and as a nation to be discriminated against by national legislation designed to stop the Chinese from coming to this country.

The story begins when the first great influx of Chinese came to this country in 1848, as coolie labor to work in the mines during California's gold rush.

They were originally received with an attitude of special tolerance and sympathy. However, that disappeared quickly when the Chinese began to appear in the mines in 1851. They were attacked vigorously and viciously by both public laws and popular uprisings. From 1850-1870, California enacted the Foreign Miners Tax enforced exclusively against every Chinese, which resulted in 50% of total revenues paid as taxes during the first four years of their enactment and 98% of total revenues during the final sixteen years. As early as 1849, in a Chinese Camp in California, an uprising took place against sixty Chinese miners. At Marysville, California, white miners in 1852 drew up a resolution asserting that "no Chinaman was to be henceforth allowed to hold any mining claim in the neighborhood." These anti-Chinese sentiments spread throughout California and in every mining town, there were similar restrictions and uprisings. Discrimination developed against them because of peculiarities of dress, to their color, language, inoffensive habits and their willingness to work for lower wages. The Chinese were driven out of the mines about the same time as the railroads were being built.

Because of scarcity of labor, the Chinese were recruited to work on the Central Pacific in 1865. Because of their efficiency, coolies were soon transported to work on the railroads. The Civil War period marked a decline in anti-Chinese sentiment for their labor was needed to complete the Central Pacific railroad.

The demand for Chinese labor decreased in the '70's, and the Chinese entered many different occupations from laundering, tailoring, fishing, to cigar making. At this time, a flood of European immigrants of the laboring class arrived in California. They organized, mainly to secure better treatment for themselves, and it was not until then that the Chinese became undesirable elements.

The anti-Chinese movement reached its peak in 1875 when the Bank of California failed and California went through one of its worst economic setbacks. At this time the Chinese immigrant problem was confined mainly to California and the San Francisco region in particular. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad and California depression, a trickle of immigrants came to the Pacific Northwest, the Rocky Mountain states and the Eastern Seaboard.

In 1885, in the Northwest, hundreds of Chinese were driven from Tacoma and their homes and businesses burned. In February, 1886, hundreds of white workers began coming to Seattle to drive out the entire Chinese population of 300-400 inhabitants. On February 7th, the mob went from building to building in the Chinese section, loaded all their belongings, and marched them down to the docks. Money was raised by subscription to ship out 196 Chinese on the *Queen of the Pacific*. The rest were marched home, and later took the train out until only fifteen remained. Governor Squires intervened, the rights of the Chinese were upheld, and martial law declared. President Cleveland sent Federal troops to back up Governor Squire's proclamation. The Chinese were allowed to return after the Great Fire of 1889, though a few had returned earlier and were prospering.

State legislation against the Chinese was started as early as 1852 when the governor of California advised that coolie immigration be restricted and in 1855 the state legislature enacted a law imposing a head tax of $55 on every Chinese. In 1858 a law was passed forbidding the Chinese from entering the State but such legislation was declared unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court and in 1876 by the United States Supreme Court. San Francisco also passed numerous city ordinances against the Chinese during this period like the Laundry, Queue, and Cubic Air Ordinances.

California's efforts to stop Chinese immigration were rendered futile by the Federal court decision, so California appealed to Congress for national legislation to stop Chinese immigration. When the country lapsed into a depression, anti-Chinese feeling entered into national politics and in 1876 both parties inserted an anti-Chinese plank in their platforms to secure the votes of the western states.

In 1880 a law was passed whereby the United States could regulate, limit, or suspend but not prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers to this country. On May 6, 1882, a law was passed suspending Chinese immigration for ten years. This was the first national restrictive legislation on immigration and established the permanent exclusion of the Chinese. Congress continued all laws in force, so absolute prohibition of Chinese laborers continued. It accomplished the effective exclusion of Chinese laborers for Chinese immigration dropped to zero. This was the first time that the American government had ever stopped people of a specific origin from coming to the United States. No Chinese citizen could be legally admitted to the United States as an immigrant from 1882 to 1944 when the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed.

By the end of the 19th century, the California Chinese had, for the most part, died off, returned to China, moved eastward, or settled into those ghettos of American cities referred to as "Chinatown." Chinatown was the only place a lonely Chinese laborer found fellowship, companions, social familiarity, and solace. Chinatown acted as a buffer against the prejudices, hatreds, and depredations of hostile whites. Chinatown originated with a parental sense of group feelings and social needs and, at the same time, white aversion and hostility gave added reasons for these Chinese institutions to continue to flourish. Chinatown was usually a small area, consisting of three or four city blocks near the center of a large city. Here Chinese formed their own organizations which took care of their own community's needs. In those days Chinatown was wide open, businesses flourished, and some Chinese became very wealthy.

Unsavory elements also existed here in the form of gambling and opium dens, singsong girls and tong wars. This was primarily due to the lack of opportunity for family living—an effect of the exclusion acts which resulted in subtle genocide of the Chinese. Between the period of 1850-1882 with unrestricted immigration, a total of only 8,848 Chinese women journeyed to America. In the same time span, over 100,000 Chinese men arrived in the United States. In 1890 there were only 3,868 Chinese women left. Before the turn of the century, there were about 27 Chinese men for every Chinese woman. A closer balance of the sexes did not occur until the 1960's.

As family building began, the problems like tong wars and opium smoking began to disappear. These changes produced a new person, a Chinese American. He automatically became a citizen through birth in this country. Although proud of his Chinese heritage, he identified more with America. Yet before the Second World War, university graduates of Chinese descent could obtain but few jobs outside of Chinatown. The war changed this and helped the Chinese perhaps more than any other nationality. Due to the lack of Manpower during the war, the Chinese began to enter fields closed to them previously.

The successful struggle of a few Chinese to assimilate into America's society cannot be seen as representative. Imbedded institutionalized racism affects and discriminates against many less fortunate Chinese Americans. Prevailing attitudes and stereotypes of Chinese have often resulted in low promotional jobs and positions and limited participation in the mainstream of American life. We see ignorant and apathetical attitudes toward the social problems of the Chinese and the exclusion in education of historical contributions the Chinese have made in America.

The Chinese must be recognized as a people who have long endured discrimination in trying to assimilate into the American society. Society must eliminate its discrimination and subordinating practices because the profound reality is that the Chinese will not deny their Chineseness as something to discard along the path toward Americanization. America must accommodate this if she is truly to be a democratic nation.

THE ANTI-CHINESE MOVEMENT IN SANTA CRUZ COUNTY, CALIFORNIA: 1859-1900

By
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, a forest fire of anti-Chinese sentiment swept California. Touching lightly in some places, burning deeply in others, the anti-Chinese feeling alternately smoldered and flared over half a century. Though there are now several studies examining the anti-Chinese movement at the national and state levels,[1] there have been few studies to determine the nature and intensity of the anti-Chinese movement at the local level in rural California. This paper, an analysis of the anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz county, will examine the relationship of the Santa Cruz movement to the state level movement, will assess the influence of the anti-Chinese movement on local politics, and will analyze the effects of the movement on the Chinese in the county.

Santa Cruz county is ideally suited for a study of the anti-Chinese movement. With a small but important Chinese population, and located on the northern side of Monterey Bay, Santa Cruz county was close enough to the urban center of the movement to be influenced, yet isolated enough to develop its own unique version. Also, the county had two distinct regions, each of which nurtured different kinds of anti-Chinese sentiment. The northern end of the county, around Santa Cruz, was predominantly a logging and manufacturing region; the expression of anti-Chinese sentiment there was constant and at times vicious. The southern area of the county, the Pajaro Valley, was dominated by agriculture, and the anti-Chinese refrain was often muted. By 1886, the issue of anti-Chinese boycotts had all but split the county in two.

When analyzing the causes and effects of anti-Chinese sentiment in Santa Cruz county several assumptions were made: First, there is no way to measure latent hostility toward the Chinese—the feelings had to be expressed in some way before they can be examined. So, when anti-Chinese sentiment is identified in an area, what is meant is *expressed* opinion. Secondly, anti-Chinese sentiment existed sporadically throughout the entire period under study, and several symptoms were used to diagnose its presence: restrictive ordinances, anti-Chinese public meetings and rallies, anti-Chinese advertising, and violence and harassment directed against Chinese. Third, sporadic sentiment became a movement when organization existed and action was planned or taken. A few anti-Chinese editorials did not constitute a movement; instead, they often were a momentary expression of opinion by the editor. In the strictest sense, a movement must be a sustained, organized effort to bring about change.

Using the above definitions there was anti-Chinese sentiment in Santa Cruz county between 1859 and 1876, and the emergence of the secret Santa Cruz Order of Caucasians in 1877 marked the transition to a movement. Between 1877 and 1886, mirroring the state-level anti-Chinese movement, there was a vocal anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz county. With the wasting away of the anti-Chinese boycott movement in the summer of 1886, the Santa Cruz movement subsided into occasional expressions of hostility which all but disappeared by 1903.

The Chinese in Santa Cruz County

The Chinese never comprised more than four percent of the county's total population. From a single enumerated Chinese in 1850,[2] the Chinese population grew to 785 in 1890 and then fell quickly to less than 200 in 1910:

Chinese in Santa Cruz County[3]

	Total Population	*Chinese*
1850	643	1
1860	4,944	6
1870	8,743	156
1880	12,802	523
1890	19,270	785
1900	21,512	614
1910	26,140	194

With the exception of Chinese fishermen along the beaches, seasonal laborers in the fields, and isolated groups of Chinese woodcutters and gardeners, most of the Chinese lived in the two most populous towns in the county.

Santa Cruz, the county seat of the mission that gave its name to the county, was the manufacturing center for the county. After statehood came to California, the area adjacent to Santa Cruz became dotted with lumber mills, paper mills, tanners, and lime kilns, all of which used the piers at Santa Cruz to ship their products to markets in San Francisco and southern California. The Chinese community in Santa Cruz, though moved from time to time, was usually located on a street which ran along the west bank of the San Lorenzo River. The census schedules for 1870 and 1880 dramatically show the primary areas of employment for Chinese in Santa Cruz were as cooks, laundrymen, and domestics. In fact, in 1880, 79 of the 98 Chinese enumerated within the city of Santa Cruz were employed in service capacities.[4] Though several local industries had used Chinese labor at one time, notably the California Powder Works, by 1880 they had all released their Chinese employees. Thus, in Santa Cruz, the Chinese provided services to the white community, and did not play a major role in the economy of the city. In the lumber camps north of Santa Cruz, the census schedules list a Chinese cook here and there, but there are no Chinese laborers in the logging industry, or at the saw mills.

Twenty miles southeast of Santa Cruz lay the Pajaro Valley, the agricultural heart of Santa Cruz county, with Watsonville the major town. As the large ranchos of the Mexican period were broken into smaller farms, intensive agriculture found its way into the area. By 1875, wheat and barley were giving way to specialty crops like strawberries, hops, sugar beets, and orchards. Most of the new crops needed to be cultivated and harvested by hand, and as the need for farm labor grew, so did the Chinese community in Watsonville. Though Watsonville was always smaller than Santa Cruz, it always had a larger Chinese population. The majority of the Chinese enumerated in Watsonville were listed as agricultural laborers, and most of the remainder were in service positions to the Chinese community: barber, a policeman (hired by the Chinese), retail store operators, gamblers and opium dealers. Watsonville's Chinese section was a true Chinatown, as all seven of the Chinese females listed in the 1870 census lived there as did twelve of the thirteen Chinese females in 1880.[5] While this self-sufficient Chinese community provided labor essential to the economy of the Pajaro Valley, the Chinese in Santa Cruz were on the periphery of the manufacturing, and potentially vulnerable to anti-Chinese hostility. As shall be shown later, this apparent vulnerability was deceptive: both Chinatowns had internal strengths which will prove to be invaluable in the coming struggle.

[1] Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Urbana,* University of Illinois Press, 1939); Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). See also, Stanford M. Lyman, *Chinese Americans* (New York, Random House, 1974), pp. 54-85; Betty Lee Sung, *The Story of the Chinese in America* (New York, MacMillan, 1967), pp. 27-57.

[2] United States Census (1850), manuscript for California.

[3] Bureau of Census, 12th Census of U.S. (1900), p. 565; 13th Census of U.S. (1910), p. 596.

[4] Bureau of Census, 9th Census of U.S. (1870), manuscript, California: 10th Census of U.S. (1880), manuscript.

[5] *Ibid*.

CHAPTER II

THE FORMATIVE YEARS: 1859-1875

Anti-Chinese Sentiment in the Santa Cruz Area

Though there was a wide variety of hostility expressed toward the Chinese in Santa Cruz county between 1859 and 1876, all attempts to form anti-

Chinese organizations were unsuccessful. Initially, the Chinese were not visible in any numbers, so the Chinese issue was an abstraction and difficult to keep on center stage. Periodically, Chinese laborers were blamed for the economic ills of the state, but the absence of any sizeable number of Chinese in the county made it difficult for local citizens to saddle the Chinese with the blame for hard times in Santa Cruz county.

The *Pacific Sentinel* (later named the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*) began publishing in Santa Cruz in 1856, and from that time until after the turn of the century it kept a consistently anti-Chinese editorial position. During this first phase of the movement, the newspaper took a sympathetic view of the statewide anti-Chinese movement but always deplored violence directed against Chinese. In the first anti-Chinese editorial published in the county, editor John McElroy laid the blame for California's hard times directly at the feet of the Chinese and the companies that employed them.[1] From that editorial until 1876, the *Sentinel* maintained its constant opposition to Chinese immigration.[2]

As the number of Chinese in the county increased, the editorials became more openly racist. In a lengthy editorial in 1873, the editor, B. P. Kooser, reiterated the standard anti-Chinese view that Chinese immigration should be stopped because the Chinese drove down wages and they "cared nothing for our country beyond the advantage it affords for making money."

He concluded this important editorial with the following observation: "They [Chinese] huddle in miserable, cheap tenements, without an idea of decency; they are surrounded with and grovel in filth and baseness, the very sight of which is revolting and sickening. Neither is this an exception, for wherever you find them in country towns they are always existing in a like condition."[3] Apparently the abstraction was becoming a reality.

However, the *Sentinel* was quick to deplore violence against the Chinese. When the news of the expulsion of the Chinese from Hornitos, California, reached Santa Cruz in June of 1859, the editor criticized the use of force on both moral and legal grounds: "Such acts are unworthy our boasted civilization."[4] And, as the number of violent incidents against Chinese grew in Santa Cruz, he upbraided the perpetrators of such acts.[5] In 1869, a mission school for the Chinese was set up in Santa Cruz by the American Missionary Association. By 1873 there was an active group of Chinese attending the school, particularly during the winter months. Periodically, school boys would line the route from Chinatown to the school, shouting threats and throwing stones at the Chinese. In a blistering editorial, Kooser criticized the boys for such acts and lamented the apparent lack of civility in such behavior.[6]

By the mid-1870's, Chinese labor was being used extensively in the California Powder works on the San Lorenzo River, in the San Lorenzo Paper Mill, the Soquel Sugar Beet Factory, and in the construction of the narrow gauge railway between Watsonville and Santa Cruz. Kooser criticized business in general for using Chinese labor, but never directed that criticism toward local businesses. The California Powder Works, for example, was one of the main manufacturing concerns in the county producing gunpowder which was shipped all over the country. Chinese laborers were used in the construction of the mill, as coopers, and elsewhere in the operation.[7] In 1864, a petition was circulated in Santa Cruz and presented to the company asking that the Chinese be fired and replaced by whites, but the company ignored the request.[8] Kooser defended the use of Chinese labor in the mill as the only means that the Powder Company could use to keep their products competitive with goods produced on the east coast.[9] That same defense had been used by California businesses throughout the 1870's as a defense for using Chinese labor. For Kooser, local economic expediency took precedence over principle: the Powder Mill provided jobs for whites as well as Chinese and its continued operation was more important than expelling Chinese laborers.

In the early 1870's, the Chinese provided the labor for several important local construction projects including the regrading of the road from Soquel to San Jose, the construction of the horse railway in Santa Cruz, and the construction of the narrow-gauge railway between Santa Cruz and Watsonville.[10] The narrow gauge railway provided Santa Cruz with its first rail link to San Francisco. Kooser described the project in great detail, and frequently commented upon the industry and tenacity of the several hundred Chinese working on the project.[11] During the construction of the railroad, a number of Chinese laborers were injured and Kooser expressed sympathy for them.[12] While he condemned the use of Chinese labor in constructing the transcontinental railroad,[13] he was openly impressed with their work in the county. This was a major charactersitic of the anti-Chinese sentiment expressed in the county— though quick to support state-level movements against Chinese immigration, quick to sign petitions or vote for anti-Chinese candidates, and quick to ridicule the appearance of the Chinese and their customs, local citizens were reluctant to direct their hostility at Chinese in the county.

Anti-Chinese Sentiment in the Pajaro Valley

The main newspaper in the agricultural end of Santa Cruz county was the weekly Watsonville *Pajaronian*, established in 1868 by J. A. Cottle and taken over the following year by C. O. Cummings.[14] Cottle was very skeptical about the anti-Chinese sentiment being expressed in the city newspapers. In March, 1868, Cottle speculated about the high rate of unemployment in Watsonville, and after noting the number of idlers in the area, rejected the notion that they had been put out of work by the Chinese, since there were only twenty Chinese in the entire area.[15] In May, 1869, Cottle published a point by point denunciation of the anti-Chinese sentiment being expressed elsewhere in the state. He termed the anti-Chinese movement a "huge political Jack-o-lantern, stuck on the pole of party to frighten the ignorant." Instead, he wrote, California should welcome the economic intercourse with China; contact between China and California would naturally result in the Chinese adopting American civilization. He suggested that the complaint of miscegenation "be dropped until it is ascertained [by politicians] whether the Chinese *want* to marry their sisters." He concluded the editorial with a plea for reason: "This howl against the Johns is very foolish and we hope that the people of California will not allow themselves to become unreasonable, just through the influence of prejudices."[16] The theme of reason was played early in Watsonville, and though the newspaper changed hands several times, the *Pajaronian* remained skeptical of the anti-Chinese movement until the turn of the century.

Cottle sold the paper to C. O. Cummings who, in 1869, picked up the theme of skepticism about the anti-Chinese issue: "Is not this great issue of the day the great humbug of the day?"[17] By that time, the Pajaro Valley was becoming increasingly dependent on Chinese labor. In the summer of 1869, Cummings stated flatly: "Truly, Chinamen are a benefit to us this year at least, and we would advise the enemies of Chinese labor to keep silent until our crops are gathered . . . they make excellent hands and can be depended upon to go to work on *Monday mornings*."[18] Again, the immediate economic need prevailed over the broadly stated principle.

The one unsuccessful effort to establish an anti-coolie Association in Santa Cruz county occurred in Watsonville in late 1870. On November 22, a meeting was held to organize the Watsonville Anti-Chinese Association, whose initial objective was to "drive the Chinese from the [Pajaro] Valley . . ." The following week the Association leadership issued a disclaimer indicating that their goal was to encourage the cessation of Chinese immigration into the United States: "There is no spirit of hostility on the part of the Society toward the Chinese now among us . . ." But, after two more weekly meetings the Association disappeared.[19] Even in the winter, Chinese exclusion was not a popular issue in the labor-hungry Pajaro Valley.

As the Chinese population in the Pajaro Valley grew, a Chinese section developed in Watsonville very near the center of town, just one block off the main street. In 1874, the *Pajaronian* (Cummings, editor) began a campaign to have the Chinese section of Watsonville either cleaned up or moved. Cummings described the Chinese quarter as a "sink hole of barbarism and multitudinous stinks . . . situated in the heart of the business portion of Watsonville." However, he also indicated that he wanted the Chinese to remain close to the town, "where they will not be so offensive."[20] For the next six months he exhorted the citizens and the Town Council to do something about Chinatown, but no ordinances were forthcoming and the Chinese remained.[21]

One possible reason that the anti-Chinese cry was not picked up during this period was the existence of a racist campaign against another ethnic group, more numerous and more visible. While the anti-Chinese movement was foundering during the early years, there was a county-wide (and state-wide) movement directed against Californios, Mexicans and Indians.[22] From laws directed against their customs and traditions to mob violence, the Spanish-speaking in Santa Cruz were under constant attack. Except for the fortunate few that were able to hold on to their Mexican land grants, by 1860, most of the Spanish-speaking population in the county was sequestered in a Spanishtown to the east of Santa Cruz (Branciforte), or in a collection of bars and shacks north of Watsonville (Whisky Hill).[23] Between 1850 and 1875 at least nine Spanish-speaking people were lynched in Santa Cruz county.[24] Vigilance committees abounded in the county (as they did elsewhere in California); in 1870, a "protective Association" formed in Watsonville and issued a list of people wanted for crimes against the community—all on the list had Spanish surnames.[25]

The relationship between the campaign against the Spanish-speaking and the movement against the Chinese is not yet clear,[26] but two interrelationships appeared in Santa Cruz county. First, there were a number of incidents of assault between Chinese and Spanish-speaking residents of the county.[27] This could well have been a manifestation of the two groups jockeying for position at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy. Secondly, during the 1874 editorial campaign to remove the Chinese section from downtown Watsonville, Cummings often noted that Chinatown was attracting "Greasers and Indians" into the heart of town. Chinatown was attractive to the Spanish-speaking population, providing entertainment in the form of gambling, opium and prostitution. Thus, the move to get Chinatown outside the corporate limits of Watsonville was an effort to keep the Mexicans, Indians and Californios in their place—outside town.

By 1875, the campaign of violence against the Spanish-speaking in California was winding down. With the execution of the last bandido, Tiburcio Vasquez, in San Jose in 1875, a sigh of relief went up from the Santa Cruz county.[28] The last California lynching of a Spanish-speaking person occurred in Santa Cruz in 1877 with the hanging of two murder suspects from the San Lorenzo river bridge.[29] The energy that the "law and order" elements of Santa Cruz county had expended in their campaign against the "greaser" will now be directed against the Chinese.

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[1] *Pacific Sentinel*, Nov. 11, 1859.

[2] *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, April 13, 1862; April 20, 1862.

[3] *Ibid.*, *March* 15, 1873.

[4] *Ibid.*, June 18, 1859.

[5] *Ibid.*, August 15, 1871; September 25, 1875.

[6] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1869; October 25, 1873.

[7] *Ibid.*, *March* 14, 1874.

[8] *Ibid.*, October 22, 1864.

[9] *Ibid.*, March 14, 1874.

[10] *Ibid.*, June 18, 1870; July 3, 1875.

[11] *Ibid.*, December 12, 1874; July 3, 1875.

[12] *Ibid.*, January 1, 1876; January 22, 1876; January 29, 1876.

[13] *Ibid.*, April 2, 1867; April 23, 1867.

[14] E. S. Harrison, *History of Santa Cruz County* (San Francisco: Pacific Press, 1892), p. 88.

[15] Watsonville *Pajaronian*, March 19, 1868.

[16] *Ibid.*, May 14, 1868.

[17] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1869.

[18] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1869.

[19] *Ibid.*, November 24, 1870; December 1-December 15, 1870.

[20] *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1874.

[21] *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1874; Oct. 1, 1874; Nov. 19, 1874; Dec. 3, 1874; Dec. 24, 1874.

[22] Leonard Pitt. *The Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

[23] Bureau of Census, Eighth Census (1860), manuscript, Santa Cruz county.

[24] Santa Cruz *Sentinel*, June 21, 1856; *Pajaronian*, May 19, 1870.

[25] *Pajaronian*, March 2, 1870.

[26] Pitt, *Decline of Californios*, pp. 77-78.

[27] *Sentinel*, Sept. 15, 1877; Dec. 5, 1883; March 29, 1884; *Pajaronian*, August 8, 1872.

[28] Margaret Koch, *Santa Cruz County: Parade of the Past* (Fresno: Valley Publisher, 1973), pp. 147-148.

[29] Pitt, *Decline of Californios*, p. 260; *Sentinel*, May 5, 1877. Pitt erroneously puts the San Lorenzo river in Santa Clara county.

CHAPTER III

THE MOVEMENT MATURES: 1876-1883

Both the state-wide and Santa Cruz county anti-Chinese movements emerged matured in 1876.[1] In Santa Cruz county a combination of factors contributed to the movement gaining momentum including: a depression, the formation of the Workingman's Party in San Francisco, and Duncan McPherson's becoming editor and publisher of the Santa Cruz *Sentinel*.

California had been experiencing an economic depression since 1869, and by 1875, Santa Cruz county was hit by hard times. Unemployment was particularly high in the manufacturing and lumber industry around Santa Cruz. The slump continued for the next five years: lumber mills closed, houses and stores stood vacant and even the California Powder Works closed for a short time. The Pajaro Valley did not feel the economic pinch as severely, and the *Pajaronian* crowed from time to time that Watsonville was faring pretty well.[2] Thus, part of the stage is set for a strong anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz, and a weak movement in Watsonville. Perhaps the most important actor on that stage will be Duncan McPherson, editor of the Santa Cruz *Sentinel*.

McPherson had come to Santa Cruz in 1856, and after dabbling in the *Sentinel* as a business manager in the 1860's and editing a newspaper in San Mateo for five years, he returned to Santa Cruz in 1876 and bought an interest in the *Sentinel* and became its editor. From that time until after the turn of the century, McPherson was consistently, avidly, almost hysterically anti-Chinese in both editorial policy and his personal political career. He published verbatim minutes of anti-Chinese clubs, ran their advertisements, and often provided personal leadership for the movement.

The tempo of anti-Chinese sentiment in Santa Cruz picked up in the spring of 1876. On Saturday, April 15, an Anti-Chinese Association was formed, composed of an unknown number of unemployed "working men and mechanics." The Association was dedicated to boycotting Chinese businesses or those businesses that employed Chinese. The next evening, several drunken men attacked a Chinese residence in the Chinese section of Santa Cruz and hurled stones through the windows until they were arrested. Eventually, seven of the men were tried and convicted on assault charges. The meetings on Saturday night, and the assault on Sunday evening were the harbinger of things to come, but this anti-Chinese Association was not heard from again.[3]

McPherson then launched a one year editorial campaign against Chinese immigration. Drawing upon articles and editorials from San Francisco newspapers, he systematically enumerated all of the arguments which, by this time, were standard fare for opponents of Chinese immigration. Using such descriptive adjectives as "hog eyed," and "rat-eating," he denounced the Chinese for undercutting wages, for being unassimilable, for being heathens, for smoking opium, for gambling, and for being diseased. He upbraided farmers for not firing Chinese farm laborers, and he urged all businesses and families to release their Chinese help and hire unemployed whites in their place.[4]

The Santa Cruz Order of Caucasians

A second and more successful attempt to found an anti-Chinese club came in December, 1877, with the foundation of the Santa Cruz Caucasian Society. A secret society dedicated to boycotting the Chinese, the Santa Cruz Caucasians met weekly and numbered over fifty at one point. Though the Santa Cruz Order was obviously patterned on its contemporary in San Francisco, there is no evidence that it was involved in killing Chinese as the San Francisco Caucasians were.[5] McPherson, one of the founding members of the Society,[6] was careful to point out that the Caucasians were taking a "law-abiding, determined course" in urging the boycotts. Meeting in secret, the Caucasians began to hone the boycott into an effective weapon; the weapon will outlive the organization.[7] For, just at the time when the Caucasian membership began to blossom, another group was forming in Santa Cruz county which would provide the apparatus to transform the anti-Chinese sentiment into a formidable movement—the Workingmen's Party.

The Santa Cruz Workingmen's Party

Founded in the fall of 1877, and espousing anti-Chinese slogans, the Workingmen's Party spread quickly throughout California. Under the leadership of Denis Kearney, the Workingmen's Party quickly attracted the attention of the unemployed both in San Francisco and Santa Cruz.[8] By early February, 1878, a Workingmen's Party was formed in Santa Cruz under the banner, "No Nationality! No Religion! . . . No Chinamen Need Apply."[9] The success of the organization was astonishing; inside one month, the Santa Cruz Workingmen had 266 members which one editor claimed to be the best response to the party outside San Francisco.[10] On October 26, 1878, the Santa Cruz Order of Caucasians adjourned indefinitely—the secret anti-Chinese movement had gone public.

From its inception, the Santa Cruz Workingmen's Party attracted more than just workingmen. The leadership in both Santa Cruz county and in San Francisco was hardly proletarian; Elihu Anthony, the President of the Santa Cruz party was one of the pioneer Yankees to come into the county. Developer of the first foundry in Santa Cruz, Anthony had come to be an extensive property-owner by the time of his election as head of the Workingmen's Party at age 59.[12] Until the late 1880's Anthony, along with Duncan McPherson, was the most vocal opponent of the Chinese in Santa Cruz county.

Behaving like a political machine, the Workingmen's Party directed its energies to putting candidates up for local elections. In the Santa Cruz City elections of April, 1878, the Workingmen's Party succeeded in electing its candidates in four of the six offices up for election.[13] The platform of the Santa Cruz party was similar to that of the state organization and included a clean government plank, an anti-monopoly plank, and most importantly, a plank opposing Chinese immigration.[14] Some Workingmen in Santa Cruz even took to affixing signs to the rears of their wagons which read, "The Chinese Must Go."[15]

The only important debate within the Workingmen's Party in Santa Cruz arose over Denis Kearney. "Kearneyism," a penchant for violent incendiarism, was roundly denounced by most of the leadership within the party. Santa Cruz had a taste of incendiarism during the summer of 1877 immediately following the first of Kearney's San Francisco sandlot demonstrations, and neither the party nor McPherson liked those tactics.[16] At one point, McPherson became so disgusted with Kearney's antics that he wrote, "Kearney, by his language, his demeanor, his threats, his antecedents, his plagiarizing of other men's brains in speech-making has led the people . . . to believe that the anti-Chinese fight here is conducted mainly by hoodlums and Communists."[17] Anthony, on the other hand, supported Kearney, and when the fiery leader came to speak in Santa Cruz county in 1879, Anthony met him, hosted him, and introduced him to the assembled crowd.[18] Anthony owned considerable property in Santa Cruz, and he stood to lose a lot if violence broke out in Santa Cruz, yet he wished to be identified with Kearney, apparently for political reasons. Soon after Kearney left the county, Anthony was elected to the California Assembly.[19]

Anthony was not the only Santa Cruz Workingmen's Party member to use the party as a launching pad to higher office. William F. White, a farmer from the Pajaro Valley who joined the Santa Cruz Workingmen because the Watsonville chapter had failed, attended several state-wide conventions of the Party, and in 1879 was the unsuccessful Workingmen's Party candidate for governor.[20] By 1880, even McPherson, a life-long Republican, became suspicious of the number of politicians (mainly Democrats) that were materializing within the Santa Cruz Workingmen's Party;[21] and with its energies sapped by intra-party bickering, the Santa Cruz chapter died by the end of 1880. Though short-lived, the Santa Cruz Workingmen's Party provided important political experience for many of its members, experience they will draw on as required by the recurring theme of Chinese exclusion.

The Watsonville Workingmen's Party and the Constitution of 1879

Predictably, the Workingmen's Party was much more subdued in Watsonville. Early in 1878, a Watsonville chapter organized, met regularly, and politely welcomed Kearney when he came to speak in 1879. However, the *Pajaronian* was continually critical of Kearney and his tactics, and when the news of Kearney's coming to Watsonville first surfaced, Radcliff wrote: "Hurrah for old 'hell-bound and hemp.' If he exhibits that noose here [Watsonville] it will throw many into convulsions—of laughter."[22]

When the debate on the proposed California Constitution began in the spring of 1879, the Watsonville Workingmen's Party could not support it though the Constitution had been influenced by Workingmen's Party delegates when it was drafted. The Pajaro Valley farmers could not support it "on the ground that it will drive away capital from the valley."[23] So, again, the county was split: Santa Cruz supported the Constitution while Watsonville opposed it. The electorate of the county voted for ratification, but a heavy negative vote came in from the Pajaro Valley.[24]

The negative vote cannot be interpreted as being favorable to Chinese immigration, however, for in a referendum on Chinese immigration held in California in September, 1879, 2,450 Santa Cruz county voters indicated opposition to Chinese immigration while only four favored it.[25] McPherson, when commenting on the results of that referendum called the four "cranks."[26] Thus, Santa Cruz county voters (and California) expressed overwhelming opposition to continued Chinese immigration on a national level, while the Pajaro Valley farmers remained apprehensive about losing their labor supply. As the *Pajaronian* summed it up during the wheat harvest in 1879: ". . . the Chinese must go forth—to bind."[27]

Reaction to the Exclusion Bills

The depth and strength of the anti-Chinese movement during this period can also be measured by the reaction to attempts at federal restriction of Chinese immigration. In March, 1879, citing its conflict with the Burlingame Treaty, President Hayes vetoed the first attempt to restrict Chinese exclusion (the Fifteen Passenger Bill). The *Pajaronian* responded with disappointment, but the *Sentinel* voiced the opinion that, "A great work has been done by Congress and destroyed by Hayes." McPherson intimated that Hayes was influenced by eastern manufacturers, eastern ministers, and Mrs. Hayes.[28]

During the next two years, Santa Cruz county followed the progress of treaty revision and the Miller Chinese Exclusion Bill with great interest, and when the news reached Santa Cruz county that President Arthur had vetoed this attempt, the north end of the county exploded with anger.[29] The news of the veto reached Santa Cruz on April 4, 1882, and by that evening a bonfire was roaring as a crowd gathered to see a burning effigy of President Arthur hanging in the Plaza. In speeches that evening, Duncan McPherson and Elihu Anthony, along with other community leaders, expressed disappointment in the President and reaffirmed their opposition to Chinese immigration. And, when the modified exclusion bill was signed by President Arthur on May 6, the people of Santa Cruz celebrated in the streets.[30]

Watsonville, refusing to observe the statewide holiday declared for public protest against Chinese immigration on March 4, 1882, reacted to Arthur's veto with nonchalance.[31] There were no mass meetings, and the *Pajaronian* chastised the hanging in Santa Cruz as a "relic of bygone times [which] . . . carries no conviction or force with it."[32] The *Pajaronian*, having dismissed the anti-Chinese issue as a "political taffy pull" sighed with relief when Arthur finally signed the Chinese Exclusion Act in May, declaring, "At last the Chinese question is out of politics, and we are glad of it."[33]

McPherson's Blind Spot—The South Pacific Coast Railroad

Since 1871, the city of Watsonville had a railroad link with the San Francisco bay area, and beginning in 1876, McPherson began advocating a direct rail line between Santa Cruz and San Francisco. Though one could ride the train from Santa Cruz to San Francisco after 1876, it involved a circuitous route through Watsonville, out to Gilroy, and north up the Santa Clara Valley. A direct link over the Santa Cruz mountains would cut hours off the trip as well as eliminate the ignominy of having to pass through Watsonville on the way. Just as the South Pacific Coast Railroad began construction south from Santa Clara into the mountains, the anti-Chinese movement was organized. And to his consternation, McPherson found that the road was being constructed by Chinese. McPherson had a dilemma: if he began a campaign to get the South Pacific Coast Railroad to fire its Chinese, who would build the road? So, he chose to play down the role of the Chinese when describing the building of the road. As the thousand Chinese railroad workers began their arduous task of pushing a railroad through the twisting ridges north of Santa Cruz, McPherson buried the articles on back pages, and often failed to mention that the majority of the workers were Chinese.[34]

The story of the construction of the South Pacific Coast Railroad and particularly the incredible tunneling done by the Chinese on the route, has yet to receive its due.[35] There were eight tunnels totalling 2 and ⅝ miles in length drilled by Chinese laborers at an enormous cost in human life. The two longest tunnels (each over a mile) were drilled through gas-bearing rock, and there were several serious explosions when the gas was accidentally ignited. In one explosion in tunnel number three, thirty-two Chinese lost their lives.[36] All told, at least 45 Chinese were killed during the construction of the South Pacific Coast Railroad.

After the huge explosion in tunnel number three, McPherson declared that he had found the solution to the problem of Chinese labor: "Laboring men say that the Chinese must go. Send them into the oil-gas end of tunnel No. 3. They will then wing their flowery way to the Celestial land, or hunt the sources of the fires that keep the volcanoes in perpetual motion."[37] One week later, after recommending genocide as a solution, McPherson dug to the bottom of his barrel of racist epithets when he described the Chinese as "... half human, half devil, rat-eating, rag-wearing, law-ignoring, Christian civilization-hating, opium-smoking, labor-degrading, entrail-sucking Celestials ..."[38] Even at a time when anti-Chinese descriptive terminology was common in California newspapers, McPherson's editorials have to take the prize for the most vicious, and most repulsive.

When the South Pacific Coast Railroad was finally completed in May, 1880, the road was quick to release all its Chinese employees, and McPherson proudly announced that there were no longer any Chinese on the road's payroll.[39] Once again, economic necessity took precedence over the stated principle of "The Chinese Must Go." Even Duncan McPherson, a man with a burning (and as yet unexplainable) hatred for Chinese had to hold back his demand for releasing Chinese laborers until the railroad was completed.

The Narrowing of the Chinese World in Santa Cruz County

As occurred elsewhere in California, the Chinese in Santa Cruz found themselves increasingly restricted, regulated, taxed, and harassed. And, with the development of the anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz county in 1876, governments passed ordinances which narrowed the scope of Chinese employment and social contact. Even in the Pajaro Valley, where there was a great need for Chinese labor, ordinances restricting the Chinese were passed.

Santa Cruz, however, led the county in the number and variety of anti-Chinese ordinances passed during this period. Besides the usual laws restricting gambling, opium, peddlers and laundries, Santa Cruz even adopted a pole-ordinance.[40] Watsonville, though restrained in its anti-Chinese sentiment, passed similar ordinances, including an ordinance making kite-flying within the city limits of Watsonville illegal. A Chinese resident of Watsonville's Chinatown was arrested for flying a kite.[41] These campaigns directed against Chinese culture are reminiscent of the campaign to eliminate the culture of the Spanish-speaking population in the county during the 1850's and 1860's.

By the early 1880's very definite lines had been drawn by whites in Santa Cruz county defining what work the Chinese could do, and where they could live. Whether working in the fields, drilling railroad tunnels, or toiling in the laundries, the Chinese were providing a good share of the labor in the county. Yet, they received little respect from the white residents of the county. And, not infrequently, Chinese were the butt of practical jokes. During the election of 1871, a long line developed in front of the polling place in the city of Santa Cruz. One practical joker handed a Chinese observer a ballot and suggested he stand in line "just like Melican man." The Chinese stood in line for several hours, but, upon arriving at the voting table, was turned away, much to the enjoyment of the assembled crowd.[42] On another evening, a Chinese put on roller skates at a Santa Cruz skating rink, and according to one observer, "first his heels would be in the air, then some of the boys would take hold of his queue and jerk him over backwards . . . This kind of amusement John took good naturedly . . ."[43] Chinese were criticized for not wishing to assimilate, yet they were ridiculed when they did make any effort to adopt American culture. This "damned if you do, damned if you don't" bind will turn that good natured response of the Chinese into one of frustration and anger by the mid-1880's. When the anti-Chinese movement went on its last, and most abusive campaign in 1885, both Chinese communities in Santa Cruz county were ready for the fray.

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[1] Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-63.
[2] *Sentinel*, October 25, 1879; *Pajaronian*, April 14, 1873; May 29, 1873.
[3] *Sentinel*, April 22, 1876; April 29, 1876.
[4] *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1877; July 7, 1877; August 11, 1877; Sept. 22, 1877; October 6, 1877; October 13, 1877; Dec. 1, 1877.
[5] Saxton, *op. cit.*, p. 18; 196.
[6] He admitted his role in the Caucasians in an interview in the *Sentinel*, April 15, 1879.
[7] *Sentinel*, Dec. 22, 1877 to June 22, 1878.
[8] Saxton, *op. cit.* pp. 113-137; Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-77.
[9] *Sentinel*, February 16, 1878.
[10] *Pajaronian*, March 7, 1878.
[11] *Sentinel*, October 26, 1878.
[12] Harrison, *Santa Cruz County*, pp. 227-228.
[13] *Sentinel*, April 13, 1878; *Pajaronian*, April 11, 1878.
[14] *Sentinel*, March 2, 1878; March 23, 1878; April 6, 1878.
[15] *Ibid.*, September 14, 1878.
[16] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1877; August 18, 1877; April 13, 1878.
[17] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1879; April 15, 1879.
[18] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1879; April 15, 1879.
[19] *Ibid.*, September 13, 1879.
[20] Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-303.
[21] *Sentinel*, September 10, 1880.
[22] *Pajaronian*, March 14, 1878.
[23] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1879.
[24] *Ibid.*, May 10, 1879.
[25] Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors Minute Book, Volume 4, p. 52.
[26] *Sentinel*, September 13, 1879.
[27] *Pajaronian*, July 3, 1879.
[28] *Sentinel*, April 8, 1879.
[29] Edward Lydon, "The Hanging of President Arthur," *News and Notes from the Santa Cruz Historical Society*, No. 57, October, 1974.
[30] *Sentinel*, April 8, 1882; May 13, 1882.
[31] *Pajaronian*, March 9, 1882.
[32] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1882.
[33] *Ibid.*, May 11, 1882.
[34] *Sentinel*, November 20, 1877-November 20, 1880.
[35] Bruce A. MacGregor, *South Pacific Coast* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1968).
[36] *Pajaronian*, November 20, 1879; *Sentinel*, November 29, 1879.
[37] *Sentinel*, December 6, 1879.
[38] *Ibid.*, December 13, 1879.
[39] *Ibid.*, November 20, 1880; January 29, 1881.
[40] *Ibid.*, March 29, 1879; March 27, 1880.
[41] *Pajaronian*, February 26, 1880.
[42] *Sentinel*, September 9, 1871.
[43] *Ibid.*, August 22, 1884.

CHAPTER IV
APOGEE AND DECLINE: 1884-1892

After the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the California anti-Chinese movement waited expectantly for Chinese immigration to stop and Chinese emigration to begin. But, by 1884, an air of frustration permeated the state as "Chinese must go" forces saw that the Chinese remained.[1] They expressed dismay that Chinatowns seemed to get larger, and each arrival of a vessel in San Francisco with Chinese aboard brought charges that the federal government (customs officials in particular) was not enforcing the Exclusion law. Ironically, racist movements tend to place a high value on being treated fairly by their elected officials—while they espouse unfair treatment for someone else.[2] By 1885, having lost confidence in state and federal lawmakers, the anti-Chinese movements in many areas began to take the initiative; by using direct action against Chinese communities, they attempted to solve the problem that the governments had refused to solve for them. As Saxton points out, the archetypical incidents in Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, and Eureka, California, became the examples used by many California communities. From ordinances in the early stages, the movement escalated to force, intimidation, and in some areas, violence.[3]

Anti-Chinese Movement in Felton

During the winter of 1885-86, as elsewhere in California, the anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz county reached crescendo pitch. In November, an anti-Chinese club formed in the lumbering region of Felton and Boulder Creek, north of Santa Cruz. In 1877 there had not been enough interest to sustain an anti-Chinese movement, but the depressed economy and high unemployment in the lumber industry finally took its toll, and by 1885 the loggers struck out with a vengeance. Though there were few Chinese in the area, anyone employing Chinese became the target of abuse and intimidation. For example, William Maitland, a British subject living near San Lorenzo was visited on November 13 by a committee of his neighbors who gave him twenty-four hours to fire his Chinese cook. In an appeal for assistance written to the British Consul in San Francisco, Maitland observed, "The men who are meeting in this way are not the working men, but a mob of drunken loafers..." The governor sent a telegram to Santa Cruz's Sheriff, Elmer Dakan, asking him "to take such measures as may be necessary and proper to protect Wm. Maitland from violence." Maitland steadfastly refused to release his cook, and with considerable attention being drawn to the situation, the anti-Chinese forces backed down, conceding in December, that Maitland's cook "is the only Celestial still in Boulder."[4] The anti-Chinese club in the Felton area liked to brag about its "non-violent" approach of giving the Chinese a twenty-four hour ultimatum. However, such an ultimatum used implied violence, and the threat of violence waited at the end of the twenty-four hours.

Santa Cruz Anti-Chinese Association

From the mountains, the movement rolled into Santa Cruz, and the festering Santa Cruz anti-Chinese movement erupted again. An anti-Chinese club was quickly organized, and in a series of inflammatory meetings the group decided to draft an ordinance for removing the Chinese from Santa Cruz. A petition supporting the ordinance was circulated, and after it had over two hundred signatures, Duncan McPherson published the draft ordinance and the list of signatories in the *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel.* The petition list included the names of most of the old Workingmen's Party leadership including both Elihu Anthony and Duncan McPherson, as well as the sheriff of Santa Cruz county. Anthony, the first president of the revitalized Association, made a series of anti-Chinese speeches similar to the ones he gave in the late 1870's. The arguments against the Chinese had not changed much over the years, and they still included complaints about alleged wage depression, diseases, and immorality. One new concern raised in the 1885-86 campaign was a fear of miscegenation.[5]

During April, 1883, a young Santa Cruz hotel worker named Sarah Burke often was seen in the company of Wong Suey Wan, a Chinese resident of Santa Cruz's Chinatown. When she announced to her friends her intention to marry Wong, the white community became excited. Her employer, Mrs. H. Harris, attempted to dissuade Sarah from marrying the Chinese, and the town officials made it clear that though the marriage would be legal, they would not issue a license for it. Finally, Sarah fled Santa Cruz (followed by reporters), and met Wong Suey Wan in San Francisco. Sarah's father promptly had her arrested and taken before a sanity hearing. The judge found her to be of sound mind, whereupon, once freed, she married Wong Suey Wan and went to live with him in Chinatown, San Francisco.[6] The entire episode was followed with horror and fascination by Duncan McPherson, who concluded that, "Sarah Burke is ruined." McPherson later analyzed the situation as one of infatuation brought on by opium: "This one instance of the debauchery of a white girl through the devilish arts of the opium dens, causes a shudder to run through the community."[7] Three years later, McPherson noted in an article clipped from the *San Francisco Chronicle* that Mrs. Wong Ah Sue and her three children were seen in San Francisco. He gave his readers an up-date, noting that Wong often visited Santa Cruz, and at one point, when questioned about Sarah, said, "She is belly nice."[8] Though there are no more miscegenetic unions during the 1880's in Santa Cruz, the incident involving Sarah Burke assured that there would be an anti-miscegenation plank in the anti-Chinese platform in Santa Cruz.

The petition and draft ordinance were placed before the Santa Cruz Town Council and after several lengthy and noisy meetings, the Council voted against abating Chinatown. The arguments given by the Council centered around their belief that such an ordinance was unconstitutional, and, therefore, the Chinese could not legally be forced out of town. The Town Council assured the assembled crowd that they would begin to draft ordinances to harass the Chinese, however.[9]

Such a decision by the town council, in the face of such overwhelming popular sentiment, and in light of the anti-Chinese history of the area is puzzling. However, one concern expressed during the discussion was the power of the Six Companies. When the ordinance was being debated, a rumor spread through Santa Cruz that the Six Companies were going to buy the land on the opposite side of the San Lorenzo River and move Chinatown there if the abatement ordinance was adopted.[10] The mention of the Six Companies as an influence in the movement may have been an important deterrent to the Council's adopting the ordinance. The Santa Cruz Chinese community was not helpless; in the early 1880's there had been occasion to bring in outside help.

The Six Companies and the Death of Lou Sing

In 1883, Lou Sing, a young Chinese laborer, died under mysterious circumstances. The local coroner termed the death a suicide by poison, but during an autopsy it came to light that Lou Sing also had a broken neck. In spite of this, the Santa Cruz coroner stuck to his verdict of suicide. The Santa Cruz Chinese community, believing that Lou Sing had been murdered asked the Six Companies in San Francisco for assistance. Under the leadership of Wong Kee, representative of the Six Companies in Santa Cruz, an investigation into the death of Lou Sing was launched. The Chinese Six Companies took an advertisement in the *Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel* in which they advanced the theory that Lou Sing was whipped and murdered by whites. Dr. Charles Stivers came to Santa Cruz from San Francisco, and under the auspices of the Six Companies conducted his own autopsy which resulted in his tentative verdict that Lou Sing had been murdered. For two days the Chinese community massed along Front Street, expressing their anger over Lou Sing's death, and then in perhaps the largest Chinese funeral ever held in the area, Lou Sing's body was escorted to Evergreen Cemetery by hundreds of mourners. Dr. Stiver returned to San Francisco, gave his report to the Six Companies, and though legal action was rumored, nothing came of the investigation.[11] If Lou Sing was murdered, his murderers were never indicted. However, the Six Companies had come to aid the Santa Cruz Chinese, and the community demonstrated an ability to withstand harassment. By 1886, it was clear to the anti-Chinese movement that any attempt to move Santa Cruz's Chinatown would certainly bring the Six Companies down again.

The Anti-Chinese Boycott Campaign, Spring 1886

With the failure of the abatement ordinance, the anti-Chinese Association concentrated on the boycott as their major weapon. All over California boycotts were being imposed on Chinese and those that employed them. In a series of editorials between February and May of 1886, McPherson exhorted people to join the boycott and condemned those that refused. Advertisements noting "No Chinese employed here" blossomed in the Santa Cruz newspapers. Though the boycott had considerable public support, there were two major hold-outs: A. A. Taylor, the editor of a rival Santa Cruz newspaper, and the people of the Pajaro Valley.

Taylor, editor of the *Santa Cruz Daily Surf* and generally supportive of the anti-Chinese movement, spoke out against the boycott. Declaring it to be a move by local politicians to further their own ends Taylor refused to join it.[12] Anthony and McPherson, angered by Taylor's refusal then asked for a general boycott of the Surf, its advertisers, and its subscribers. Taylor responded by filing suit against the Anti-Chinese Association, McPherson, and Anthony for damages amounting to $10,000.[13] The suit went in and out of court for several years before being dropped by Taylor in 1889.[14] Somewhere in the debate over the boycott, the anti-Chinese movement got lost, and without wide public support, the Santa Cruz boycott failed, as it did elsewhere in the state.

The Strawberry Rebellion—Pajaro Valley's Response to the Boycott

All attempts to encourage white laborers into the fields in the Pajaro Valley had failed, and by the early 1880's, Chinese labor was still the primary source of labor. In a thoughtful interview published in the *Pajaronian*, a farmer observed that machinery was moving into agriculture, leaving the least desirable tasks to be performed by hand. For an example he cited the fledgling sugar beet industry where weeding the beets was done by hand: Chinese laborers, while working on their hands and knees, became so sore "that blood is left as they move along."[15] In the mid-1880's Chinese labor was vital not only in the sugar beets, but hops, apples, truck gardens, and strawberries. Chinese frequently share-cropped in the strawberry fields, contracting to provide the labor for one-half the crop.

Predictably, as the anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz began to warm up in the winter of 1885-86, Watsonville's response was chilly. A Watsonville anti-coolie club was formed in December, 1885, but after two meetings it disappeared.[16] The editor of the *Pajaronian*, Radcliff, was still skeptical of the anti-Chinese movement, and as the anti-Chinese conventions began to meet and propose boycotts in San Jose and Sacramento, he expressed concern:

> "... Danger flags are on this boycotting engine, and its effect upon the future should be considered as well as its application to the present. The Chinese should go—but peaceably—and go to stay. But to drive them from town to town like hunted beasts, and to blacklist those who employ them, is something contrary to that spirit of broad humanity supposed to be characteristic of this great nation which has invited to its shores the poor and downtrodden of all countries. If

immigration is too plentiful, stop it; but to invite people here and then drive them out is un-American . . ."[17]

Two days later, the Executive Committee of the anti-Chinese clubs of Santa Cruz issued its boycott proposal, and Radcliff reacted by denouncing the boycott as having the potential to destroy the economy of the Pajaro Valley.[18] Between March and May, 1886, Radcliff continually editorialized against the boycott citing that boycotts affected the farmer but not the Chinese laborer. He claimed that the boycott did "portend depreciation of property value, loss of crops, foreclosures of mortgages . . ."[19]

The newspapers in Santa Cruz dubbed Watsonville's resistance the "strawberry rebellion," as it was the strawberry farmers that would be the hardest hit by the boycott. In May, 1886, the Non-Partisan Anti-Chinese Association in San Francisco sent J. C. Buttner to Watsonville to organize an anti-Chinese club. Shortly after the first meeting began, the building caught fire and the meeting was canceled. Buttner returned to San Francisco and with disgust announced that "the most pronounced pro-Chinese sentiment to be found in this State exists in Watsonville, as a fire was started to break up the meeting." The *Pajaronian* responded by defending their anti-boycott position, though Radcliff claimed that the residents of Watsonville were not "Chinese lovers or advocates."[20]

With exception of Felton, the 1885-86 anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz county failed. Lacking broad popular support, the anti-Chinese leaders in the north end of the county became involved in internal squabbles, a law suit, and by winter, 1886, the movement quietly died away.

Watsonville Moves Its Chinatown

Santa Cruz county experienced an economic "boom" during 1886 and 1887 with both Santa Cruz and Watsonville showing signs of extensive construction.[21] To some observers in Watsonville, the Chinese section at Maple and Union was a retardant to the expansion of Watsonville to the south and east. In 1888 there were several editorials in the *Pajaronian* speculating about the possibility of moving Chinatown.[22] It was a cautious plea, for Claus Spreckles had blessed Watsonville with a sugar mill and a campaign to encourage the cultivation of sugar beets was in progress–Chinese labor was essential to sugar beet cultivation.[23] Thus the recurring question in Watsonville: how to move the Chinese out of town, but not out of the valley? In the Spring of 1888, a solution was presented to the people of Watsonville.

John T. Porter, the owner of the property on which Chinatown was located, agreed to negotiate a transfer of the Chinese to another parcel of land he owned in Monterey County just across the Pajaro River, a mile south of Watsonville. After a series of meetings between a committee and the Chinese community, the Chinese agreed to the move.[24] The Chinese Vice-consul, Colonel Bee, came down from San Francisco, inspected the situation and declared it an equitable solution.[25] So, in June of 1888, Watsonville's Chinatown was moved, buildings and all, across the bridge— river's width beyond the city limits and the county. In the small community across the river, Porter laid out a main street (named Dupont after the one in San Francisco), and a parallel street named Brooklyn Street. The new Chinatown was dubbed "Brooklyn" by residents of the Pajaro Valley, and it became a thriving community with upwards of five hundred Chinese residents by 1900.[26] Thus, a compromise had been achieved: Watsonville had abated its Chinese section, but the agricultural interests still had their labor.

The Last Flurry of Anti-Chinese Sentiment in California

When anti-Chinese violence flared up in Fresno in August, 1893, neither Santa Cruz nor Watsonville rallied to the call. McPherson reiterated his belief that white labor should be encouraged, but the editorials were brief.[27] The *Pajaronian* noted the Fresno violence with concern, but editor Radcliff was already being distracted by another immigrant group: "Japanese are pouring into this country at a heavy rate, and it is possible that in the legislation against the Chinese we are removing an evil to give place to a great one."[28] As the state-wide anti-Chinese forces turned to the Japanese immigrants after 1900, the Santa Cruz anti-Chinese movement followed suit. The racism did not go away, it just shifted gears.

The Chinese Confined: Chinatown, Santa Cruz County

By the 1890's, the life of the Chinese in Santa Cruz county had been narrowed into the two Chinatowns, the larger south of Watsonville, and the smaller along Front Street in Santa Cruz. Over the forty years that Chinese had been in the county, there had been a notable shift of Chinese population to Pajaro. Though there will be a small Chinatown inside the corporate limits of the city, there were understandings about where Chinese might go. Chinese in Santa Cruz were discouraged from venturing outside Chinatown, and Pacific Avenue was known to the Chinese as "the white man's street."[29]

Brooklyn, the Pajaro Valley's Chinatown, safely across the bridge from Watsonville, continued to thrive well into the twentieth century. When the Chinese threatened to move back in 1902, The Town Council of Watsonville reiterated its position, and the Chinese stayed in Pajaro. The Chinese suggested they would move back into town when they noticed that many Japanese were living within the city limits of Watsonville.[30] Then, in a campaign reminiscent of the one against the Chinese, Watsonville attempted to remove the Japanese from the city. If the Japanese were permitted to stay, then like dominoes, the Chinese would return, followed by the Spanish-speaking.

An analysis of the 1900 census dramatically underscores the transition that occurred in the Pajaro Valley's labor supply. There were small groups of Japanese farm laborers listed throughout the valley, all male, ranging in age from 16 through 30. Elsewhere there were larger groups of male Chinese farm laborers, but their ages ranged from 30 through 65. The exclusion laws were taking their toll on the Chinese community, and by 1910, the Japanese had become the primary source of farm labor in the Pajaro Valley. Numbering 235 in 1900, the Japanese population of Santa Cruz county jumped to 689 by 1910.[31] And, along with their burden of farm labor, the Japanese also picked up the burden of an anti-Japanese movement.

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[1] Sandmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

[2] See reaction to continued immigration of Japanese after Gentlemen's Agreement, 1907-8.

[3] Sandmeyer, 97-98; Saxton 201-208.

[4] William Matiland, Boulder Creek, California, to British Majesty's Consul, San Francisco, Calif., Nov. 14, 1885, L.S. in Governor's Papers File, Reports and Miscellaneous Communications, State Archives of California; *Sentinel*, Nov. 19, 1885–to December 16, 1885.

[5] *Sentinel*, November 8, 1885-February 2, 1886.

[6] *Ibid.*, March 24, 1883; April 14, 1883; April 21, 1883.

[7] *Ibid.*, April 21, 1883.

[8] *Ibid.*, January 5, 1886.

[9] *Ibid.*, February 2, 1886.

[10] *Ibid.*, January 14, 1886.

[11] *Ibid.*, September 11, 1884-September 24, 1884.

[12] *Santa Cruz Surf*, February 1, 1886-May 1, 1886.

[13] *Sentinel*, May 9, 1886.

[14] *Pajaronian*–May 9, 1889.

[15] *Ibid.*, June 20, 1878.

[16] *Ibid.*, December 10, 1885-December 24, 1885.

[17] *Ibid.*, March 18, 1886.

[18] *Ibid.*, March 25, 1886.

[19] *Ibid.*, March 18, 1886-April 8, 1886.

[20] *Ibid.*, May 27, 1886.

[21] *Ibid.*, July 12, 1888; *Sentinel*, December 31, 1886.

[22] *Pajaronian*, February 23, 1888.

[23] *Ibid.*, May 17, 1888.

[24] *Ibid.*, February 23, 1888-April 5, 1888.

[25] *Ibid.*, May 12, 1888.

[26] *Pajaronian*, July 26, 1888-September 20, 1888; United States Census, (1900), manuscript census schedules.

[27] *Sentinel*, August 20-August 21, 1893; Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1939), pp. 74-80.

[28] *Pajaronian*, Sept. 28, 1893.

[29] Ham Tung, Habeas Corpus Case No. 10932, District Court of U.S., Northern California, April 19 and 20, 1894.

[30] *Pajaronian*, February 6, 1902.

[31] United States 12th census (1900); United States 13th census (1910).

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS

Racist movements operated in quarter-century cycles in Santa Cruz county with the period 1850-1875 devoted to a movement to restrict and contain the Spanish-speaking. The period 1875-1900 was dominated by the anti-Chinese movement, while the first quarter of the twentieth century was devoted to the anti-Japanese movement.[1] In the late twenties and thirties there was a strong anti-Filipino movement in Santa Cruz county, but World War II prevented that movement from running its full cycle.[2] It was difficult to sustain any movement in Santa Cruz county, so as the populations of each minority group declined, the movements shifted to fresh targets. The constant search for agricultural labor in California ensured that a new minority group would be forthcoming.

The movement against the Spanish-speaking in Santa Cruz county was a furtive saga of clandestine night-riding, lynching and harassment. The movement was complicated by the fact that the objects were native-born, citizens of the United States and Christians. How could the Californios be asked to go home? They were home. Thus, the newly arrived Yankees made it clear that they wanted the Spanish-speaking people to live apart—in Spanishtowns. As the economy of the country developed, there weren't enough Mexicans, Indians, or Californios to provide the labor needed, so the Chinese came to this county to fill that need. The campaign against the Chinese was easily mounted. The Chinese were aliens, ineligible for citizenship, physically identifiable, and culturally distinct. No moral dilemma was present about sending the Chinese home, so the cry became, "The Chinese Must Go." However, they could not leave the county until another source of labor was found. Enter the Japanese. The anti-Japanese movement in Santa Cruz county (as elsewhere in California) found the same speeches being made by the same people, as the Japanese were aliens ineligible for citizenship, physically identifiable, and culturally distinct—they came from Asia and could be asked to return.

Obviously, the continued existence of such movements throughout the history of Santa Cruz county indicates that these movements fulfilled a need for the majority group. In the case of the anti-Chinese movement, the Chinese provided an opportunity for transferring the anxieties and frustrations of an increasingly complex economic world.[3] It was no accident that the anti-Chinese movement was strongest when hard times came to the county. The depressions of the mid-1870's and mid-1880's are the seed-beds for the anti-Chinese movement all over California. However, it may be this very tendency to use the Chinese as scapegoats which hindered the anti-Chinese movement. The argument that the Chinese were to blame for all the economic ills just didn't fit the reality of Santa Cruz county, and though the anti-Chinese forces tried to amend the slogans, they eventually fell on deaf ears.

The argument most often voiced by the anti-Chinese forces in California was that Chinese forced wages down and eventually drove whites out of jobs and took them over. Though it may have been true in selected industries in San Francisco, it was not the case in Santa Cruz county. Over the decades, as pressures against them grew, Chinese in Santa Cruz county concentrated their efforts in non-competitive jobs. After 1880, as the manuscript census records show, the Chinese were predominantly in domestic and service positions, railroad workers, and farm laborers. Those few that had been in manufacturing (Powder Mill) had been released. Efforts had been made to encourage whites to work on the railroads and in the fields in the county to no avail. In fact, Chinese labor crews struck successfully several times during the construction of the South Pacific Coast Railroad, and in the sugar beet fields. They could not have succeeded in striking had there been unemployed whites waiting to take their jobs. Yet, in spite of the fact that they did not displace whites, the anti-Chinese leadership continued to claim that they did. As late as 1886, most anti-Chinese speeches and editorials in Santa Cruz focused on that one issue. The public had heard that argument for over twenty years, had watched the Chinese shift into low-profile employment areas, and began to suspect that the anti-Chinese leadership had ulterior motives. The Pajaro Valley farmers knew the argument was fraudulent as they had tried to get someone else to crawl through the beet fields, but to no avail.

The primary motives of the leaders of the anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz county seem to have been personal political advancemnt. Elihu Anthony, Elmer Dakan, and William White used the anti-Chinese movement to gain nomination or election in the late 1870's. And, when Anthony appeared again at the helm of the anti-Chinese movement in 1885, the *Pajaronian* claimed he had nothing but political motives. In fact, even the membership became suspicious, and in March, 1886, unemployed mechanics and artisans bolted from the party to form the Citizen's Anti-Chinese Club of Santa Cruz county. Members in this new club had to sign an oath pledging not to accept nomination for any public office during 1886.[4] That kind of dissension eventually was the undoing of the movement.

Another motive seems to have been personal economic gain. The membership of the anti-Chinese clubs, particularly in Santa Cruz, was predominantly businessmen and shop owners. Boycott appeals resulted in "No Chinese employed here" signs and advertisements. Any boycott tended to diminish the number of business competitors, so businessmen would have nothing to lose by joining. The *Pajaronian* even dismissed McPherson's dispute with the *Surf* as one having little to do with the anti-Chinese boycott, but a lot to do with McPherson's effort to eliminate his competition. In Santa Cruz, the boycott was ineffective; hundreds of people signed the pledge, then proceded about their daily business. Nothing changed, but maybe a new customer was gained.

Another tendency which gave the anti-Chinese movement an ethereal quality was the reluctance of the movement to confront local Chinese on their complaints. Other than the sweeps through the woods around Felton, the anti-Chinese arguments were usually directed at Chinese-in-general, rather than the local community. One might even conclude from that reluctance that the anti-Chinese movement was admitting their arguments were not applicable to the Chinese in Santa Cruz county.

The Santa Cruz anti-Chinese club was further frustrated by the unwillingness of the Chinese to fit the stereotyped accusations. After the Chinatown abatement ordinance failed to pass, the civic leaders of Santa Cruz took a surprise tour of Chinatown in February, 1886, to see what health ordinances were being violated. They were disappointed to find Chinatown clean and orderly.[5]

Perhaps the strongest deterrent to the anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz county was the importance of the Chinese and their labor. Certainly, that is what motivated the Pajaro Valley farmers to stage their "strawberry rebellion." But even the county as a whole could not ignore the fact that the boom in 1887 came to Santa Cruz county over tracks laid by Chinese, through tunnels drilled by Chinese, along cuts hewed by Chinese, across fields reclaimed and tilled by Chinese.

Finally, an analysis of the anti-Chinese movement in Santa Cruz county must take into account the strength of the Chinese communities in the county. Far from being wide-eyed, fearful and trembling, both major Chinese communities had the inner courage and outside help to withstand assaults upon their members, and the community solidarity to prevent removal. The Watsonville Town Council *asked* the Chinese if they would agree to removal across the river. But, the sword cut two ways: they had gathered together for strength, but being gathered together they were confined. They provided the labor in the fields, but went into confinement in the evening, safely behind Chinatown. To many Chinese this treatment did not seem fair, and perhaps Sam Locke best summed up the Chinese view when interviewed after the funeral of Lou Sing in 1884: "Me spos'n that dis is flee countly . . . Me spos'n evely body hab same lite befo' the law. Wha' for China boy no get same lite? Me heap sabe." Those rights will not be forthcoming until long after the railroad tunnels had caved in, the cuts eroded, the tracks removed, and the name China Beach forgotten.

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[1] Roger Daniels, *The Policies of Prejudice* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1966).

[2] Emory S. Bogardus, *Anti-Filipino Race Riots*, Report to Ingram Institute of Social Science, San Diego, 1930.

[3] Peter Loewenberg, "The Psychology of Racism," in Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss, The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1970), pp. 186-201.

[4] *Sentinel*, March 26-March 29, 1886.

[5] *Ibid.*, February 7, 1886.

[6] *Ibid.*, September 13, 1884.

Comment: Loren B. Chan, *San Jose State University, California*

#10 – CHINESE WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

Chairwoman: Betty Lee Sung, *City College, City University of New York*

DR. HU KING ENG, PIONEER

By

ELIZABETH LEE ABBOTT

In his book *China Awakened*, Tyau wrote,

> Between 1881 and 1896 the first foreign educated Chinese lady doctors arrived in America. Dr. King Ya-me obtained her degree from Cornell in 1885, while Doctors Mary Stone and Ida Kahn graduated from Michigan eleven years later; the latter being preceded by Dr. Hu King-eng who received her degree from Philadelphia Woman's Medical College in 1894. (Tyau, 1922, 24.)

Although Dr. King Ya-Mei was the first woman of Chinese descent to obtain her college education in the United States, since she was adopted as a small child by American missionaries (Burton, 1912, 25.) and spent most of her practicing years outside of China, Dr. Hu King-Eng, ("Precious Peace") may be considered the first "real" Chinese woman who was educated in a foreign land and returned to serve her country. This paper will attempt to show through the story of her life and career the relationship between the development of organized education for Chinese women by Western women missionaries and the education of Chinese women in the United States and their impact on the status of women and women's education in China between the years 1844 and 1929.

The first schools for Chinese girls were opened in Singapore (1825) and Java (1837). After the opening of the five treaty ports in 1844, Miss Aldersley opened the first school for girls in Ningpo. She faced numerous difficulties both because she was a "foreign barbarian" (and a female, at that) and because of the attitude of the Chinese toward the education of women. Regarding the latter, Samuel Williams wrote, "It is a singular anomaly among Chinese writers, that while they lay great stress upon maternal instruction in forming the infant mind, and leading it on to excellence, no more of them should have turned their attention to the preparation of books for girls, and the establishment of female schools." (1907, 52-3.) This anomaly–which is more universal than singular–was first noted by Pan Chao, the foremost woman scholar of Han China who queried.

> Yet only to teach men and not to teach women, is that not ignoring the essential relation between them? According to the 'Rites', it is the rule to begin to teach children to read at the age of eight years, and by the age of fifteen years they ought then to be ready for

> cultural training. Only why should it not be (that girls' education as well as boys' be) according to this principle?
>
> (Swann, 1932, 84.)

Notwithstanding this pioneer of female education, the many outstanding women poets, and the numerous literary men who had pride in daughters of artistic and scholarly accomplishment, three factors operated against the possibility of organized education for girls. These were: 1) the status of women in society, 2) myths concerning the female capacity, and 3) the degree of goal attainment possible in the general society. Women's status was dictated by the principles of Yin and Yang which gave them a complementary relationship to men and which was seen as dark (threatening?) and weak. Their capacity, by the same definition, was decidedly inferior. And finally, literature in itself was not a remunerative enterprise and the principal stimulation for boys to study—the prospect of government office—was not open to girls.

Among the earliest board schools was the Foochow Girls' Boarding School in Fukien Province established by the Misses Woolston in 1859 under the Southern Methodist Church. After encountering stolid indifference, contemptuous indignation, and even malignant hostility, they finally found one girl. Her family came to watch over her to make sure her eyes would not be gouged out or that she might be spirited away. (Burton, 1911, 42-4.) A year later, there were eight pupils; seven were poor peasant girls, lured by the food and clothing which the school provided. A few years later, parents furnished the clothing and books. Finally, a tuition was instituted. It was to this school that Hu King-Eng went as soon as she was able.

Hu King-Eng was born in 1865. Her father, son of a military officer, had been a devout Buddhist and a vigorous opponent of Christianity until he was converted by his brother and eventually became a Methodist minister. His wife came from a wealthy gentry family. Hu King-Eng owed much to this unusual couple for her adaptability, steadfast courage, and dedication to service. Burton writes, "One of the clearest memories of her childhood is of lying in bed night after night, listening to the murmur of her father's voice as he talked to someone . . . of the 'Jesus Way' and hearing the crash of stones and brickbats, the hurling of which through the doors and windows was too frequent an occurrence to interrupt these quiet talks."

Hu King-Eng's distinction of being the first girl in Foochow with unbound feet was due mainly to her father who may be numbered among the singular men in all times and all lands who have been at the forefront for women's rights. It was in 1872 that the Anti-footbinding Society was formed, finding the most receptivity in South China, where the practice had been the least accepted. (Lang, 1946, 53.) The process of binding her feet had barely begun when Rev. Hu Yong-Mi, convinced of the evils of footbinding, had her bandages removed. King-Eng, too young to understand, was ashamed to be the only girl without bound feet. Once her mother took pity on her and replaced her bandages while the father was away. When Rev. Hu came home, he had a serious talk with his wife and the bandages came off again. Later, when King-Eng was unhappy, her mother replied, "Tell them bound-footed girls never enter the emperor's palace" (the ruling Manchu did not bind their women's feet) and that did the trick. (Burton, 1912, 22.) King-Eng's parents not only unbound her feet, they unbound her mind and her whole future life as well.

King-Eng graduated from Foochow Girls' Boarding School in 1882. Her ability to play the organ may have caused the native pastors to request the inclusion of music along with English in the curricula when they were appealing to the General Executive Committee of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the higher education of Chinese girls. She continued her study at Foochow Women's Hospital where her adaptability to medical work and her sympathetic spirit toward the suffering of others so impressed Dr. Sigourney Trask, the head of the hospital, that she wrote to the Executive Committee of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society (11th Annual Report, p. 24, 5) to urge them to send King-Eng to America to study medicine so that she could return to China "qualified to lift the womanhood of China to a higher plane, and able to superintend the medical work." (Burton, 1912, 24.) This statement typified the attitude of the more enlightened missionaries (unfortunately in the minority) who had an understanding of the capability of the Chinese woman to assume leadership and who had the vision to see a day when the Christian work in China would be in the hands of the Chinese. Dr. Trask's request was approved; the decision was left to King-Eng.

At this time, the number of students from China being educated in the United States was minimal. Yung Wing's educational mission was terminated only two years before. It was one year after the first exclusion act was enacted against the Chinese. King Ya-Mei was still studying at Cornell. King-Eng had never even been out of Foochow. Her parents neither encouraged nor opposed the plan; they pointed out to her the realities around such a decision. (Among other things, she should be returning to China at age 28, unmarried!)

She decided to go to America. Years later, Dr. Hu recalled, "At that time the school girls seldom were with the missionary ladies and I could not speak any English, therefore I did not know any American politeness; and all my clothes and other daily-need things were not proper to use in the western country. Although everything could not be according to my will, I trusted God with all my life, so nothing could change my heart." (Burton, 1912, 26.)

In the spring of 1884, she left for America with Dr. and Mrs. Nathan Sites. She spent the summer in Philadelphia with the Philip Keens and learned English. In August, she went to the Missionary Convention in Niagara Falls. It is a tribute to the women of Philadelphia that "notwithstanding closed mills and silent forges" during the economic depression which was particularly hard on the coal and iron regions of Pennsylvania that they assumed the additional economic as well as social responsibility for Hu King-Eng's education. A more dramatic consideration was the fact that only the year before in Philadelphia, it had been rumored that the white jury which had acquitted a white man of murdering a Chinese had all been poisoned. (Miller, 1969, 140.)

King-Eng entered Ohio Wesleyan University in Delaware, Ohio in the Fall and continued learning 10 new words a day. Those of us who grew up speaking only Chinese until we entered kindergarten and those who are involved in either English as a Second Language and/or Bilingual/BiCultural education will appreciate this episode. A teacher had borrowed a plate and returned it with an orange on it. Later, King-Eng borrowed a plate from her and returned it with two oranges accompanied by the following verse:

> You taught me a lesson not long ago,
> Which I have learned, as I'll try to show.
> When you would return a plate to its owner,
> Of something upon it you must be the donor.
> One orange you put on that plate of mine,
> Two oranges find on this plate of thine.
> (Burton, 1912, 28.)

In their 16th Annual Report, the Women's Society of Philadelphia wrote, "Our ward, Hu King-Eng, as she has progressed in her studies, has also been making her way into the hearts of all those surrounding her." A fellow student said of her, "Gentle, modest, her heart fixed on a goal far head, she was an example to the earnest Christian girl and a rebuke to any who had self-seeking aims." King-Eng converted many of her fellow students to Christianity. The mother of one of her converts said, "Little did I think when I was giving money for the work in China, that a Chinese girl would . . . be . . . leading my daughter to Christ." (Burton, 1912, 31.)

King-Eng did not forget her friends at home. As one of the ten leaders of the King's Daughters Society, she proposed that the ten girls in her group earn money to buy King's Daughters' Badges to send to the Foochow School so that the Chinese girls could also organize a King's Daughters Society.

In 1888, King-Eng entered the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia which has a unique place in the history of women. Not only was it the first medical college for women in the world but from it was graduated the first women medical doctors of China, India, Japan and Korea and the first Chinese-American woman physician, Dr. Rose Goong Wong of San Francisco who graduated in 1925.

During her years of study, King-Eng lived with Mrs. Keen. She was recovering from a serious fever in 1890 when she heard of her father's illness. She returned to China after making a short stop in Japan where she saw Dr. Ya-Mei King who was practicing there under the Southern Methodist Mission. At home, King-Eng spent her time nursing her father, superintending the building of a new family home, interpreting for the Foochow Hospital physicians in the daily clinics, working among the in-patients, and teaching a class of medical students. These varied experiences—an indication of the broad scope of her capacity—gave her insight as to what additional preparation she needed.

In 1892, the same year that Mary Stone and Ida Kahn came to study at the University of Michigan, King-Eng decided to resume her education. Because this was four years after the Scott Act of 1888 which limited the return to the United States of Chinese who had vistied China temporarily and the year that the Geary Law was enacted which renewed restriction for ten years, King-Eng had to return by way of Canada. Mrs. Sites who returned with her wrote of this experience as an "alarming and wearisome struggle while in Montreal to get permission for her to re-enter this alarmingly exclusive country." (Burton, 1912, 38.)

Two years later, King-Eng graduated with honor. Her graduation picture is a portrait of a woman who stood confidently at the completion of an appointed task and at the threshold of a life of service. Her Chinese gown and coiffeur convey her pride in her heritage. The upward tilt of her chin, serene eyes and competent hands exude capability and a sense of purpose. She received the additional honor of being chosen to be a surgeon's assistant in the Philadelphia Polyclinic the following year where she attended all clinics and lectures. Upon completion of her training, she was commissioned as a missionary of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society to work in the Foochow Hospital as a full-fledged physician under Dr. Lyon. The 26th Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society noted that: "During the year the Philadelphia Branch has sent out two new missionaries, both Medical. Dr. Hu, who for ten years in this country, was the object of our care and affection, arrived safely in her native place Foochow, China, on August 6, just five days after the terrible massacre of Kucheng. She has given such promise of usefulness that we shall watch her future career with intense interest."

At that time, there was concern over returned students that they might have become culturally unable to readjust from the Western mode of life or worse, that they might have changed in their attitudes and have become prideful. These concerns as far as Dr. Hu was concerned were soon laid to rest. Her acceptance of self, sense of mission, and love of country were factors in her maintaining her cultural integrity. Her example paved the way for others to follow. A few years later when Dr. Hu saw some girls off to America, she told them, "...Some people do not want girls to go to America to study because they think when the girls are educated they will be proud . . . We have a good opportunity to go to another country to study...so that we may help our people. The more favour we receive the more debt we owe the Chinese women and girls. So wherever we go we must think how to benefit our people and not do as we please, and then how can we be proud? (i.e. prideful.)

Dr. Hu became the first Chinese woman to head a hospital in 1896 when Dr. Lyon went home on furlough and left her in charge. That same year Dr. Ida Kahn and Dr. Mary Stone both graduated with honor (ranking first and second in their class) from the University of Michigan and returned to

China to practice in KiuKiang. These two events possibly led to the opening of the first school for girls to be established by the Chinese themselves the following year.

In 1898, both Dr. Hu and Dr. Kahn were asked by Li Hung Chang, the famed statesman, to be delegates from China to the Women's Congress in London. This was an indication of the high respect in which the doctors were held, of the rising status of women, and of China's increasing involvement with the Western world outside of China.

The following year, Foochow was threatened by war and the missionaries fled to Japan, Hong Kong, and the United States. Dr. Hu was assigned the task of being the first resident physician in Woolston Hospital. Located within the city walls of Foochow, it was considered a hardship post. As she began her work, she faced an unusual prejudice. The people wanted to see the "foreign doctor" and would not be satisfied with a "Chinese student." It did not take long for them to discover that Dr. Hu was a bonafide "foreign doctor." Within months, the work at the dispensary was opened three mornings a week instead of one. She treated patients in the hospital and made home calls. She also started a training program with two students which was the beginning of her medical school.

The work grew slowly and then quickly expanded. The dispensary work grew from 1,837 in 1899 to 15,000 in 1905. More indicative of the impact of her work was the standing of the medical school. In 1905, Dr. Hu wrote of the commencement exercises, "Quite a number of the gentry, and the teachers of the government schools for young men, had asked to come to attend the graduating exercises...they were surprised and delighted to see that their countrywomen could be so brave and do so well...One of the gentry decided that day that his daughter should come to us to study medicine." (Burton, 1912, 55.) What a great leap in less than five decades from the time when ivory figurines were used by women to indicate what parts of their bodies were ailing!

Dr. Hu's work gained appreciation from the many poor whom she served and from all segments of the community. From magistrates on down, all readily supported the hospital. Honorary tablets of appreciation from wealthy patients were given to her. Even physicians of Chinese medicine would bring her some of their patients.

Tragedy struck in 1926. After three decades of service, Dr. Hu and her work became victims of a wave of anti-foreignism and revolutionary activity that swept China. "In an outburst of fury against the members of different political parties and the Christians her orphanage and hospital were raided and pillaged, her laboratory was burned and she was forced to flee for her life to Singapore where her mind went to pieces over the injustice of her countrymen." (Mead, 1933, 70-1.) She died at the home of her nephew, Dr. Chen Su Lan on August 16,1929. (Postcard.)

Dr. Hu and her fellow pioneers, Dr. King, Dr. Stone, and Dr. Kahn, were doers of the "word," exemplifying the best of Christianity. They were also spiritual sisters of Ch'iu Chin, the educator, social reformer, and martyr. Born in the same decade as Drs. Hu, Stone, and Kahn, frustrated by China's humiliation at the hands of foreign powers, she wrote the following during the time that the three physicians were establishing their work:

> We women love our freedom,
> Raise a cup of wine to our efforts for freedom;
> May Heaven bestow equal power on men, women.
> Is it sweet to live lower than cattle?
> We would rise in flight yes! Drag ourselves up.
> Wash away the humiliation before us, the disgrace,
> reddening ears in shame.
> If men consent to being bound in longevity as our comrades,
> Our hands, white as pure silk, will toil to restore, to
> magnify, the rivers, hills of our land.
> (Ayscough, 1937, 143.)

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THE LIFE, INFLUENCE AND ROLE OF THE CHINESE WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES, SPECIFICALLY IN THE WEST, 1906-1966

By

ANNIE SOO

The stand-up comic, George Gobel, has a routine in which he ends with the punchline—"I make all the big decisions in my family. My wife decides on the color of the drapes, or whether we should buy a car. I decide on our position on Israel, whether we're going to vote for the party or for the man this year."

We laugh because we know that although the world outside may be fighting, there are the family decisions to be made which may affect that fighting. As in all words spoken in fun, there is a kernel of truth concealed.

The Chinese woman may think to herself: If my son's birthday falls on Sunday, should I take him down Saturday or Monday to register for the draft? If my daughter chooses a career in law instead of biology, how will that affect her choice of matrimonial prospects?

My paper then is entitled "The Life, Influence and Role of the (American-born) Chinese Woman in the United States—specifically the West, from 1906 to 1966." This sixty-year period is a sexagenary cycle in the Chinese way of calculation. I will use stories from the lives of seven women by decades as illustrations.

Let me give a brief introduction to set the historical background.

We are familiar with the Hui-Shen controversy around the year of 500 A.D. when the Buddhist monk is purported to have landed near Mexico, according to De Guignes. Perhaps we are less familiar with the story of the Ming Dynasty princess on her way to Japan to be married. A huge typhoon arose and the ship was blown off course.

The captain crossed the Pacific and the junk was shipwrecked off the shores near Acapulco, the destination of the Spanish-Manila-Acapulco trade route. Legend has it that she never married, that she taught court dances to the high-born Mexican children and that her imperial robes were copied to become the present-day costume for one dance. I grew up in Fresno surrounded by Mexican girls who could dance the China Poblana.

And the Society's syllabus has been quoted time and time again about the lone Chinese woman—surname unknown—flanked by two Chinese men as the three went off to work for the Gillespie family in 1848. Not much is known about her but judging from stories told through the years by other women, she lived a life of not knowing the English language; cleaning and cooking, first for the family she worked for; second, for herself and for her husband whenever he came in from the mine fields. At first she did not understand certain commands issued in English; later, she worked and worked, her hands getting chapped and raw. She smiled and smiled, her face getting creased and lined.

In 1850 another woman arrived in San Francisco, doubling the Chinese female population. In the three decades after that, men came to work not only in the gold mines, but in the fishing camps, the farming fields, on the railroads, and in the cities. We know from the sources listed in the Syllabus that there were a few more women who arrived to join their menfolk.

There is the wife of Mr. Chew On or Chow Hung who came to Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, in 1872* (ChHS *Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 4) "who lived above a tea store and was rarely, if ever seen in public . . . found her affable and courteous . . . She appeared to be immaculately clean as to person and apparel and her costume was rich silk, heavily embroidered. She wore much jewelry, including rings of stone on her ankles that were adjusted by hinges . . . In 1877, the last of the Chinese left . . . about half of them had left from time to time, but the remainder left in a body." And with them the only Chinese woman to be seen in those parts of Pennsylvania and Ohio from 1872 to 1877.

There is yet another vignette, this one in Salinas County. I must first tell you that I cannot locate this reference book which was lent me by a friend three years ago. When I tried to borrow it again, each said he/she had never owned such a book. But I remember reading this about a Chinese woman in the late 1880's.

She had married a man twice her age and was carrying her baby on her back in the silken cloth carrier that is just now again beginning to be seen in Vancouver, San Francisco and Oakland chinatowns.

The narrator, evidently a white man, had come to their home to buy some firewood from the husband. He mentioned that even though he had come on a business call, the tiny Chinese woman had brought out two cups of tea on a little tray, handed one to him, one to her husband and then disappeared again. He did not see her again, but during the course of the wood transaction, he could hear her working in the kitchen. She did not emerge from there, not even when he was preparing to go.

What struck me forcibly about this story was that they were the only Chinese family in that area.

There is another story about a lone Chinese woman up in Tuolumne County. This time we know her name . . . Chan Shee (Tuolumne County Historical Society Journals).

"We met Chan Shee, the last Chinese lady to leave old Tuolumne County's Chinatown, in 1922. Chan, who was born in China in 1854, would often stroll out leisurely for a visit as she was interested and fascinated with the new homes being constructed.

"Chinatown, with its muddy, narrow Lyons Street had the brown buildings fall down around her, but she held on, for it was home to her for many, many years. Her husband had had a prosperous mercantile business here from early days – but returned to China to be with his ancestors, taking their little girl, Ailene, for her schooling. Chan was happy here, but on September 16, 1928, now 74 years old, local friends helped her to get to her homeland and be with her own people. Now our Chinatown's irreplaceable ruins were torn down in a hurry as the Tuolumne County Historical Society and many others protested. It had a heritage of the past that the Chinese played in the colorful and fascinating history of the Tuolumne County, not to be replaced." Chan Shee – no Tuolumne resident knows when she came to the area – lived to be the last Chinese woman there as Chinatown fell down around her. When the Oriental Exclusion Act was first enacted in 1882, she would have been 46 years old. However, as a wife of a merchant, she would not have been affected.

From time to time, I and I am sure that you have, have heard of stories of stowaway women who came to work in the Golden Hills – not the stories of women who were kidnapped for immoral purposes – but of one who came, determined to work to send money back to her family, Sometimes she was the middle child; sometimes she knew she was going to be sold and had run away; other times, she had heard that she was going to be blinded so that she could work as a masseur or as a beggar. No one ever put a surname to her, but during the early days of the Pacific cross-over and knowing what we know now of the crowded conditions aboard the clipper ships, this story of a runaway woman seems highly unlikely. Granted that a frail girl could bathe in the camp while the men were working in the gold mines or the railroad camps, the story still seems unlikely. And if a procurer or kidnapper had a victim he wanted to smuggle in, he more than likely paid her passage. If it were the kinfolk of a merchant or a student, then why hide her? But I digress.

For a minute, let me talk about a woman in Hawaii. Although at the time period I'm speaking of, Hawaii was not a state, it is now, and it is in the West. From what I have read of the prodigious amount of research that author James Michener has done on his historical novels, *The Source* and *Centennial,* I can safely assume he has done as much on the Chinese chapter in his book, *Hawaii.* Just as I can assume that the Hales and Whipples were based, however loosely, on the Doles and Bishops, then I am on pretty certain ground when I say he based his character, Kee Char Nyuk Sum on a real Hakka woman.

She was born in 1847, Michener writes, and she died over 100 years later. Among her many known accomplishments besides that of having five sons and starting the Kee Dynasty was the fact that she nursed the patients on the island during the illness of her husband who had leprosy. (There are on file, in Hawaii's East-West Center, many stories of Chinese women who joined their family member who had this dread disease.) Regardless of this, every day Nyuk Sum worked and nursed her husband; every night until the day of her death, she stripped and inspected herself for the leprous lesions. She died in 1953.

There are people in Honolulu today who will put a name to her – or that she is a composite woman – a portrait drawn in part upon the life of Annie

Ching Char of whose children, two are sons. One is a doctor who is a university administrator and the other is the president of the Aloha Airline Company.

Meanwhile, back in the mainland of the United States, men were rolling cigars, making shoes and slippers. Women were working the shrimp and fishing camps. There was one woman, Mrs. Fook Lam, who, as late as the 1960's, was the only processor of a prized delicacy of the Chinese, the dried salted fish, down south in Monterey. Every day that the sun was shining, she would patiently hang each of her flat fish, like clothing, on her clothesline, with clothespin. Every night she would store them in her iron lean-to shed.

The renewal, decade after decade of the Oriental Exclusion Act first enacted in 1882, brings us up to 1902. In that year, Doris was born in San Francisco. Because of the earthquake, her family fled to Oakland in 1906. And somehow, although her father talked about it constantly, they never moved back to San Francisco.

She went to school in Oakland. Every day after public school, she attended Chinese school from 5 to 8 o'clock and from 9 to 12 on Saturdays. In fact, she became a teacher of Chinese. Because she was with the Chinese community all the time, she lost facile use of her English. She met and married an Americn born Chinese. In time they had six sons. The oldest died in infancy. Then the entire family visited China and lived there two years. Another son was born there. Upon their return, she helped her husband in a grocery store until he had saved enough to buy one of his own. There, she and her children all worked, even managing a meat counter. In a robbery one day, her husband was seriously wounded with a blow to the head. Although he recovered, he was never as spry again. After his death, his oldest son took over management of the store. Then he had a heart attack. A smoke bomb was thrown into the store and because of the damage, it was decided to close down the store. Four of her sons are now married. There are 10 grandchildren. As she approaches her 75th year, she has seen her oldest grandchild married. She has also discovered that she has arthritis – with her fingers of her right hand so badly swollen that she could not clutch a cleaver to cut the Chinese food into bite-size morsels.

Let me now move by decades to 1917 and talk about Dr. Yamei Kin (ChHS *Bulletin*, January, 1975, Vol. 10, No. 1.) " . . . (She) set up under my general supervision for the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture a soy bean mill in New York City in the hope of supplying tofu to increase the bulk and food value of meat dishes served to soldiers in training at nearby camps. Dr. Kin succeeded in making excellent tofu.

She even served to a group of army officers a meal composed entirely of soy bean dishes! However, it proved impossible to test tofu on a large scale at that time, since we could not get priorities for transportation of soy beans from North Carolina, then the nearest region where they were grown on any considerable scale."

Sometime after the Exclusion Act was lifted, there appeared in Fresno, a tiny Chinese woman with bound feet. Her son, Mr. G., operated a tiny store below where they lived. Once a week, he carried her down the long narrow steep stairs and she would totter on her "lily roots" to the market and chat with her friends. She would come back to the store and her son would carry her up the stairs. More often, however, we children would climb the stairs to visit her. Sometimes I saw the granddaughters bring a wash basin and a pitcher of warm water to bathe her feet. They would sprinkle a little "Florida water" into the basin.

At about this time, in 1925, in San Francisco, Betty was born. Her father was a dressmaker, making clothes of silks and satin for customers of his shop on Market Street. Of course, with the remnants that he had left over, he made dresses for his daughters. Betty recalls her grade school teacher coming over to her and asking her not to wear dresses of silk and satin to school because her clothes were too fine for the rest of the school girls! Betty also recalls being asked not to speak Chinese in class – that for each time that she did so, she would be punished.

And speaking of San Francisco, in my recollections, there is Mrs. Allen Mar, Sr. of Fresno, just as vital and lovely as when I remembered her in the 30's. During the Depression, she, a Catholic girl, moved down from San Francisco. Together, she and her husband ran a small department store, the Peacock. The customers who came in through the front store were Chinese, Mexicans, Japanese, blacks and whites. They paid cash. But at her back door came the Chinese elderly men, who asked for a cup of rice. They had no cash. She and her husband gave generously. But this state of affairs could not continue for long. She wrote to the San Francisco St. Mary's and through the Fresno-Monterey diocese, she was able to have started, the St. Genevieve's mission. Catechism on Saturdays was held by the nuns who were the Sisters of the Holy Family. She was one of the founders of the group who had programs for the Chinese soldiers stationed at Pinedale during World War II, providing community picnics and functions. The Chinese Catholics and Baptists worked together in harmony. Mrs. Mar was instrumental in seeing to it that there was a nursery school for pre-kindergarten children. She underwrote the cost of a mimeographed little magazine, called *Chi-Kracs*. One of my classmates in catechism is now a monsignor based in Fresno. As recently as the early 1970's, people were surprised to know that there were some Chinese Catholics who did not come out of San Francisco's St. Mary's school, but who came from Fresno. Mrs. Allen Mar, Sr. can take pride in her work.

There is a woman in Southern California, whose name I won't give for reasons which will become apparent soon enough. She was born here in northern California but soon moved south to Los Angeles. She was married and widowed three times. Behind her back, such women as she were called "man-killers." By her first husband, she had a son, a young businessman now married and father of five children. She was left a widow when this son was a child. In 193[illegible], she married again and they also had a son. The stepfather was good to his stepson, but of course indulged the son of his own flesh a little more. At the age when the second son was leaving his teens, he got into wrong company and was introduced to gambling — betting on the ponies. He began losing his wages. He got deeper in debt; he began to forge checks and to take money from the store. He began to pilfer from the company's storeroom and sell products for ready cash. He was arrested, charged, served a little time, released. He could not resist gambling once more. Once more he stole, served time, and was released. But in spite of his mothers' pleas and warnings, once again he stole, was charged and he went to prison where he remained.

Then her second husband died. She married again, for the third time. After over 25 years of marriage, he, too died. And all this time, she was working to help out the family income, rearing her two sons. She waited on tables, she clerked; she filed papers in an office; she cooked for her family, she washed and ironed their clothes. Today, although she spoils her grandchildren outrageously, she is still working and once a month she takes a bus to visit her son.

In 1951 Miss Effie Chew of Oakland retired from teaching pupils at Lincoln School. Then about 65 years old, she had lived in Oakland ever since her family fled San Francisco's big disaster of 1906. She attended Oakland High School and then Miss Bernard's Kindergarten School in Berkeley which prepared her for teaching. She started at Lincoln School in 1918 and stayed there for the rest of her teaching career. She helped hundreds of Chinese children learn English and get established in the high schools of Oakland. The Wa Sung Club, 12 years after her retirement, honored her with a testimonial dinner and presented her with a trip to Hawaii. She was the daughter of the late Ng Poon Chew, publisher of the first Chinese daily newspaper in America, Chung Sai Yat Po. She died last November 2 in 1974.

My 1966 example is Mrs. March Fong Eu, the first Asian American and first woman to hold California's third highest office: Secretary of State. In her first political years, I heard her then husband, Dr. Dennis Fong, introduce her with these words: "I give you the best years of my wife, March Fong."

She was then elected to become the assemblywoman from Oakland and Castro Valley, the 15th Assembly District. She was re-elected in 1968, 1970, and 1972 by ever-increasing majorities. As a member of the Assembly, she won statewide recognition for her outspoken efforts on behalf of consumers, and perhaps most notably for her battle to abolish pay toilets in public buildings and her fight to reduce the teenage venereal disease epidemic through improved education programs. (Her official biography lists many accomplishments too numerous to mention here.)

Born in Oakdale and named for the month in which she arrived, March Gong, the daughter of a laundryman, grew up to become a dental hygienist and an elementary school teacher. She met and married Dr. Dennis Fong, a dentist. They have two children, Matthew, a recent graduate of the Air Force

Academy and Marsha Su-Yin, a student at U.C. Davis. She and Dr. Fong were later divorced.

In 1973, March met Henry Eu, a Hong Kong businessman whom she married.

As Secretary of State, Mrs. Eu is considered the state's chief elections officer. The State Archives is also under control of the Secretary of State. Here are stored millions of documents relating to the history and government of California back to the days of Spanish rule. An exhibit hall was recently opened in the Archives building to share these valuable documents with the public. Her term of office began this year on January 6, 1976, and will expire on January 8 of 1979.

My last example will be myself – in 1976 I will be 50 years old – a Gemini just as is the zodiacal sign of the United States of America.

I am an Asian first-generation born American woman; wife to an auto mechanic, mother of two daughters, first-born sister to 9 brothers and sisters; teacher of journalism and English, member of the Federation of Teachers, parishioner of the Catholic Church, and last, a member of the human race.

In conclusion, I should like to recite my ABC's – an incomplete alphabet of women: Architect Audrey Lee; Actress Pat Gan; Broker in Maritime Affairs, Rachel Chun; Ceramicist, Jade Snow Wong; Dentist, Faith Leong; Engineer, draftswoman, Janet Lam; Funeral director, Victoria Ng; Geneticist in cancer research, Dr. Irene Y. Wang; Interior Designer, Rebecca Chow Eastman, Insurance, Linda Shew; Journalist, Susannah Joe; Lawyer, Emma Ping Lum; Medicine, Dr. Marlene Wong; Nutrition lecturer, Mary Wong Dunkelberger; Optometrist, Helen Eng; Pharmacist, Josephine Mar Sam; Photographer, Connie Hwang; Radio Commentator, Connie Chung; Sociologist, Rose Hum Lee; Teacher, Alice Fong Yu; United States Government Service, Sarah Lum; Alice Sho, Vocalist with the Asian Wood Rock Group, Writer, Betty Lee Sung; and YWCA, Charlotte Choy and Lonnie Chan.

Ladies and gentlemen, think of all the mothers, wives, sisters, all the women whom I did not name whose life and role have exerted an influence upon you and the United States. Thank you.

Comment: Irma Tam Soong, *Hawaii Chinese History Center, Honolulu*

2:00- 3:00 p.m.

#11 – ECONOMIC HISTORY

Chairman: S. W. Kung, *San Francisco, California*

THE "CHINA GANGS" IN THE ALASKA PACKERS ASSOCIATION CANNERIES, 1892-1935

By

Robert A. Nash

For a number of years a curious interest has been expressed in the Chinese cannery workers who annually migrated to Alaska for the brief season that salmon returned to the coastal waters and then the rivers to spawn. Some of this interest has probably been aroused by the fact that information on the subject was not available from any of the usual sources, but most often there has been a tendency to think of Chinese cannery workers specifically in connection with the "Star" fleet of the Alaska Packers Association. The "Star" fleet (so-called because the major vessels bore such names as *Star of India*, *Star of Russia*, etc.) was the last large fleet of square-rigged sailing vessels operating from San Francisco as a home port. After the sailing ships were taken out of service, some remained in the Alaska Packers' yard at Alameda, a reminder to Bay residents and visitors of a colorful past. Two of these vessels, the *Balclutha* (ex-*Star of Alaska*) and the *Star of India*, have been refurbished to serve as floating museum pieces open to visitors, the former in San Francisco and the latter in San Diego.

The role of the Chinese in the Alaskan salmon canneries cannot be logically separated from the earlier development of the salmon fishery in California and the northward spread of the industry to Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and thence to Alaska. Neither can the demands on the cannery work force be fully appreciated without reference to the geography of the fishery and the salient characteristics of the resource. To consider the cannery work force outside of this broader context is to dismiss the precedents for Chinese participation and to fore-shorten the view of their activities. The material presented in this paper represents research in process and is not intended as a final statement on the Chinese role in the salmon packing industry.

From the preponderance of Chinese employed in the earliest years, the cannery work force came to be known as the "China Gang" or "Orientals," regardless of the ethnic composition of the work force. The cannery workers, of whatever nationality, lived in "Chinatown," the quarters assigned to them aboard the ships that carried them to and from Alaska, and in the "China House" at the cannery. In the ledgers of the Alaska Packers Association, the details of cannery labor force accounting were summarized under the caption, "Chinese Contracts."

BACKGROUND TO THE ALASKAN SALMON CANNING INDUSTRY

The Natural Resource

The life histories and habits of the salmon, together with the resource environment, are the controlling factors in the work of the canneries. There are only five species of salmon on the American side of the North Pacific, although the many common names in local usage would make it appear that there were many more. The ranges of the five species varies somewhat but all are cool water fishes. A mean annual surface water temperature of 55° F. establishes an arbitrary boundary between warm and cool waters. This boundary intersects the Oregon coastline. The ranges of the salmon overlap this boundary in a broad zone of transition and some species are taken at sea as far south as Southern California.

The difference in habits among the species leads to a local importance of one or more salmon from one place to another along the North Pacific Coast. All of the species are hatched in fresh water; some may remain in fresh water for a year or more, but others migrate to the ocean immediately after hatching. Mature fish return to the stream in which they were hatched in their second to seventh year, depending on species. Each of the species has preferred spawning area types. The fish do not feed after returning to fresh water and all die after spawning.[1]

The king salmon is the largest of the species with an average weight of 20 pounds. In the Pacific Coast salmon fisheries the king is of least importance, but in California it was the major species, and indeed the one upon which the whole industry was founded. The king salmon ranges from Southern California north to Alaska and south along the Asian coasts to Japan. This species spawns in large rivers in several feet of water, ordinarily in the main current of the river; it made up the total catch of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. The young fish may remain in the river for a year or more after hatching but usually migrate to the ocean immediately. They return to the parent stream to spawn when five to seven years old.

Silver salmon occupy the same range at sea as the king but do not enter the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, preferring the coastal streams from Central California northward. They may spawn in small coastal creeks or move on to stream headwaters in the mountains. In size, a mature adult averages about 10 pounds. Young silver salmon remain in fresh water for a year or more before their seaward migration, returning to the stream in which they were hatched in their third or fourth year. Silver and king salmon make up the entire commercial salmon catch of California.

Red salmon, the choicest of Pacific species, spawns only in streams tributary to headwater lakes. After hatching in April or May, the young fish move down to the lake where they feed on plankton and remain for a year or more before migrating to the ocean. Mature fish, averaging 6 pounds in weight, return to spawn in their fourth to sixth year. Red salmon are most abundant in the Bristol Bay and Gulf of Alaska regions.

Pink salmon is the smallest of the Pacific species, averaging less than 4 pounds. Their preferred spawning areas are in coastal streams only a short distance from the ocean. The period of spawning is from June to October. Early in the spring the young migrate to salt water. Adults return to spawn in their second year. The catch of pink salmon is about twice that of red salmon. Pink salmon are mostly concentrated in Central and Southeast Alaska, but they range as far south as Northern California.

Chum salmon, averaging 8 pounds, may spawn in coastal streams or travel to the headwaters of long rivers for this purpose. Immediately after hatching, the young commence their migration to the ocean. Adults return to spawn in their third to sixth year. The chum salmon range is principally along the south coast of Alaska.

After reaching salt water the salmon mature rapidly and, except for the king salmon, their migration at sea is rarely more than a few hundred miles from the parent streams.

Superimposed on the cyclic patterns of salmon reproduction is the annual climatic regime in the vicinities of the northern canneries. The abiotic factors of the resource environment constrain fishing and cannery operations to the few weeks of the year, usually not more than six to eight, that the salmon are approaching the streams to spawn and the rivers and bays are free of ice. Break-up on the northern rivers occurs in the latter days of May or early June. The king salmon run, starting in June, usually peaks in the last two weeks of that month. The big runs of red salmon commence at the end of June and are completed by the middle of the following month. Pink salmon fishing starts in the middle of June and is usually ended by mid-August. Silver salmon runs may come as early as mid-July, but the peak period is in the last two weeks of August. It has been observed that many of the Bristol Bay fishermen have earned "ninety percent of their yearly income in two weeks."[2] At times, the fishermen's catch was in excess of the capacity of the cannery to process the fish, and it was necessary to delay the fishing.

The period of fishing and cannery operations is one of intense activity for those engaged in the industry and Natives alike. It comes during the time of long daylight hours; more than 17½ hours at the canneries in Southeast Alaska and nearly 18½ hours at the Bristol Bay canneries. The fish must be processed as soon as possible after catching, and if the catch is large the cannery workday must be lengthened accordingly. To the Natives, this is the time of year when the caches must be filled against the demands of the coming winter; a time to provide for both people and dogs.

Brief History of Salmon Canning on the Pacific Coast

A commercial salmon fishery had commenced in California by 1849, but the first salmon cannery was not established for another 15 years. The reasons for this lapse of time typified the faltering development of commercial fishing on the Pacific Coast; local markets for freshly caught fish were too small to support more than modest fishing efforts, satisfactory means of preserving the catch for shipment to distant markets were not then known in California, and export markets were yet to be established. The local market demands can be gauged by the size of San Francisco with fewer than 57,000 inhabitants in 1860 and not quite 150,000 ten years later. Fish preservation by drying, smoking, and salting have been known from early times, but each of these methods alters the taste. Fatty fish, such as salmon, cannot be dried because the fat becomes rancid. Early attempts in Oregon to compete with established companies in the salt fish trade met with failure. The preservation of foods in bottles, after a method developed in France, was introduced into the United States in 1819 and within 20 years the use of tin cans had largely replaced glass. Although patents had been granted for tin cans as early as 1810 in England and 1818 in America, technical problems in the manufacture of cans delayed their use for preserving sea foods until 1839 when cannery operations were undertaken in New Brunswick and Delaware. The following year the canning of lobsters started in Eastport, Maine.[3]

Apparently seeking fish, not gold, William Hume emigrated to California from Augusta, Maine, in 1852. He found what he sought in the Sacramento River which teemed with salmon. After four years he returned to Maine for a visit and induced his brothers, John and George, to return with him to California. On a visit to Maine in 1863, George Hume met Andrew S. Hapgood, a friend of his youth, who was a tinner and had worked in the canneries of New Brunswick and Eastport. Preliminary planning for the salmon canning enterprise followed and in March, 1864, Hapgood came to California, bringing with him the necessary can-making equipment. Hapgood, Hume & Co. established the first salmon cannery on the Pacific Coast in 1864. Robert D. Hume, a younger brother, became an employee of the firm.[4]

The cannery line was installed on a houseboat at Washington, across the river from Sacramento, and a first pack of about 2,000 cases was made that year. Despite the loss of nearly half of the pack from spoilage, the first season was declared a success; a San Francisco agent sold the product for shipment to Australia at $20 per case, thus enabling the firm to pay off their creditors for tin plate and other supplies. The following year the output of Hapgood, Hume & Co. was sold in Australia and South America.

William Hume commenced fishing on the Sacramento River a year before attempts at hydraulic mining in the Mother Lode were successful. At first, mining by this method had a negligible impact on the river fisheries, but improvements in the equipment employed and a widespread increase in the scale of operations soon filled the rivers with sediments. Salmon spawn on gravelly bottoms and when these bottoms were covered with the refuse from mining operations, the catch decreased.[5] In 1886, Hume investigated the Columbia River, and in that year the Sacramento River operation was transferred to Eagle Cliff, Washington, 40 miles above Astoria. This pioneer cannery on the Columbia River was indicative, in the earliest years of the industry, of the trend of northward migration.

After the Hapgood, Hume & Co. plant moved to the Columbia, there were no salmon canneries in California until 1874 when two new canneries commenced operation on the Sacramento River. In the five years after 1876, the number of canneries on the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers and Suisun Bay increased to 20. A cannery was established on the Eel River in 1877. The peak year was 1881. By 1885 only six of the Sacramento River canneries were still operating. Three years later there were four and the Eel River plant had been shut down. The following year three canneries were open, and by 1919 the last of the Sacramento River canneries was closed.[6]

All five species of salmon were present at the Columbia River, but only the king, red, and silver were in commercial abundance. In their first year on the Columbia the Humes limited their pack to 6,000 cases, stopping production in the middle of the season for fear of breaking the market, but in 1868, apparently having overcome this fear, a second cannery was opened. The firm of Hapgood, Hume & Co. was dissolved, possibly at the time this second cannery was established, since later listings show Hapgood and four of the Hume brothers each as independent operators. George Hume formed a partnership with Francis Cutting, of San Francisco, and their pack was gradually increased to 37,000 cases. In 1871 the most important market for canned salmon, Great Britain, was established.[7] The following year George Hume introduced the employment of Chinese labor in the salmon canneries[8] and sold his interest in the partnership to Cutting.

The number of canneries on the Columbia River increased rapidly, and the industry expanded to other rivers in Oregon and Washington. In 1877 R. D. Hume built a cannery on the Rogue River in Oregon, and the first cannery on Puget Sound was erected at Mukilteo, near Seattle, by Jackson & Myers. By 1880 there were 43 canneries on the Pacific Coast with 12 in California and 29 on the Columbia River. In the Columbia River canneries there were 4,000 employees with a total payroll of $600,000 for the season. Of the total, $500,000 was paid to Chinese. Better statistics are not available until 1888, in which year 2,466 of 2,855 cannery employees in the states of California, Oregon, and Washington, or about 86 percent, were Chinese.[9] Except in isolated instances, of which the R. D. Hume plant on the Rogue River was one, Chinese labor contractors provided the cannery workforce.

The salmon canning industry started in Alaska in 1878 when the North Pacific Trading and Packing Company built a plant at Klawak and the Cutting Packing Company built a plant at Old Sitka. Both companies made packs that year, but after the second year the Cutting plant was closed. In 1882 the machinery from the cannery at Old Sitka was moved to Cook Inlet and another cannery was erected on the Karluk River, Kodiak Island. Three more canneries were added the following year, and in 1884 the first cannery on the Nushagak River, Bristol Bay, commenced operations. For many years, the

Alaskan fishery could be regarded as an extension of the California salmon fishery, since most of the larger companies maintained their headquarters in San Francisco. As the number of Alaskan canneries increased, there was a concomittant reduction in the number of Columbia River canneries as the operators moved to northern waters.[10]

The Alaska salmon fishery suffered from over-exploitation; the number of canneries were constantly increasing and competition, sometimes violent, was unchecked. In 1888 there had been sixteen canneries and a total pack of 412,115 cases. The following year there were 37 canneries and the pack was 719,196 cases. The pack of 1890 was nearly as large, and in 1891 it was larger. The packs of 1889 to 1891, all in excess of market demand, lowered prices and local industry organizations were formed to reduce the pack. In 1890 the three canneries at Chignik Bay agreed to share the costs and output of one of the canneries; in 1891 the Karluk River canneries adopted a similar arrangement. In September of that year the Alaska Packers Association was formed for the purpose of disposing of the unsold 363,000 cases remaining from the pack of 1891. The Association dissolved when the surplus was sold.[11]

These cooperative organizations introduced some measure of order to portions of the industry and, in 1892, 31 of the 37 operating canneries in Alaska joined the Alaska Packing Association. By agreement, only nine of the 31 canneries were to be operated and the total pack was to be reduced by one-half. It is with this year that the records of the Alaska Packers Association commence, although the organization was not formed until the following year. Instead of nine, only eight of the Alaska Packing Association canneries operated in 1892. They were the Alaska Salmon Packing and Fur Co., at Loring; Pyramid Harbor Packing Co., on the Chilkat Inlet; Hune-Aleutian Packing Co., Karluk Packing Co., and Arctic Packing Co., on Kodiak Island; Chignik Bay Co., Alaska Peninsula; and Alaska Packing Co., and Bristol Bay Packing Co., on the Nushagak River. Chew Bun was the labor contractor for Loring, John Quinn & Co. for Pyramid Harbor, Sam Kee & Co. for Hume-Aleutian and Bristol Bay, Quong Ham Wah for Karluk and Arctic, Ah Keong and Mow Tuck & Co. for Chignik, and Wing Sang Ching & Co. for Alaska Packing. Together, the six contractors sent 978 Chinese to the canneries in 1892 to handle about 71 percent of the total Alaska pack.[12]

In 1893 the Alaska Packing Association was incorporated and the firm is still in business as a subsidiary of the Del Monte Corporation. During the first year the Association was comprised of 27 canneries; 14 were operated and the other 13 were closed. The labor contractors sent 1,168 Chinese to the canneries to process more than 78 percent of the total Alaska pack.

The success and power of the Alaska Packers Association was clearly evident in the Salmon War of 1903. The Pacific Packing and Navigation Company, of New Jersey, proposed to consolidate the operations of a number of canneries to provide control over four-fifths of the world market for canned salmon. In their first year, 1901, they acquired 18 canneries in Alaska and five on Puget Sound. The Alaska Packers Association packed about 50 percent of the total Alaska output for 1901, Pacific Packing and Navigation Company about 30 percent, and the balance was packed by 16 independent canneries. The Alaska Packers Association, holding 1,223,000 cases of the 1902 pack, met the challenge of the newcomer in 1903 by driving the price down to 16 cents per dozen. Within three months the Pacific Packing and Navigation Company was in receivership.[13]

The geography of the Alaskan salmon fishery has been the major control governing its development. Factors of isolation, location, and the availability of fish and labor dictated the structure of the industry. It was essential that the fish be canned as soon as possible to avoid spoilage. In regions where the supply of fish is widely scattered, as in Southeast Alaska, a proliferation of small canneries can be expected; where the supply is concentrated, as in Bristol Bay, fewer and larger canneries would be feasible. The cannery sites were isolated from markets and a supply of labor, an isolation aggravated by the short season in which all of the work for the year was to be performed. Isolation from markets imposed substantial transport costs, and isolation from a supply of labor necessitated the recruitment and transport of a seasonal work force from outside Alaska.[14] Figure 1 shows the locations of the Alaska Packers Association canneries (Page 264).

CHINESE EMPLOYMENT IN THE CANNERIES

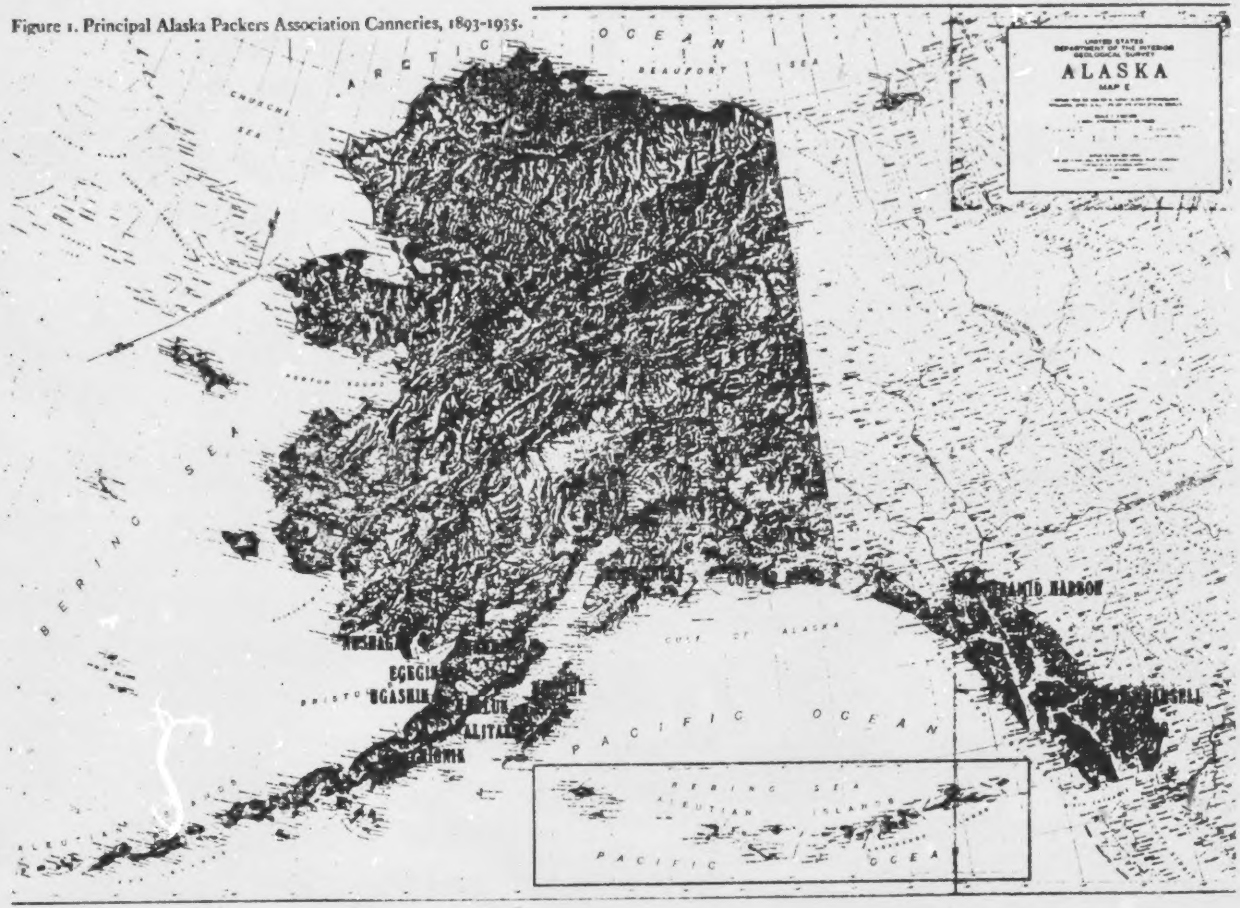
The only satisfactory solution to the difficult problem of obtaining a relatively large work force for the brief period of the salmon canning season was to be found in the labor supply available among the Chinese. This was not the first time that the large, cheap, mobile, and able Chinese labor pool had provided a valuable resource. Precedents were to be seen in the employment of Chinese through labor contractors for railroad construction, irrigation work, agricultural land clearing and planting, and land reclamation projects. The employment of Chinese cannery workers through the intermediary of a labor contractor was almost universally adopted in the salmon canneries.

The Chinese Labor Contractor

The role of the Chinese labor contractor has not yet received the attention that the topic warrants. There is practically nothing in the literature to indicate exactly how the system operated or the extent of labor contractor activities. Available information shows that the labor contractor was usually a merchant and, by agreement, he would supply some specified number of laborers to do certain work. The chief prerequisite of the labor contractor was the provision of food and supplies required to support the people under contract. This was, perhaps, his main, if not only, profit.

In many respects the role of the labor contractor appears to be the American counterpart of the comprador in China. Both flourished in roughly the same time spans and both served to bridge the cultural differences between Chinese and non-Chinese. The meanest view of the labor contractor is not unlike

Figure 1. Principal Alaska Packers Association Canneries, 1893-1935.


ARCTIC OCEAN
BEAUFORT SEA
CHUKCHI SEA
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
ALASKA
MAP E
NORTON SOUND
BERING SEA
NUSHAGAK
EGEGIK
UGASHIK
BRISTOL BAY
KARLUK
ALITAK
CHIGNIK
COPPER RIVER
PYRAMID HARBOR
WRANGELL
GULF OF ALASKA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
PACIFIC OCEAN

the later view of the comprador, a Chinese who sold his country's interest to foreigners. Loose allegations of the bad conditions brought about by the method of labor supply in the Alaska canneries are not sufficiently well documented to show that all labor contractors were bad. It is likely that an eventual appraisal will show that their importance in the industrial development of Western America was somewhat comparable to the importance of the comprador in the industrialization of China.[15]

The Alaska Packers Association was always an employer of Chinese for their cannery operations and detailed accounts of the "Chinese Contracts" have been extracted from their records for the years 1892 to 1935, the last year that cannery crews were recruited through labor contractors. From the ledgers can be learned the name of every labor contractor, the number and nationality of the cannery workers he supplied, the guaranteed minimum pay for the season, and the actual amount paid.[16] What cannot be gained from the ledgers is the amount paid, or credited, to individual workers, since the whole amount was paid to the contractor for redistribution.

Seventy-four labor contractors have been identified and are given in Table 1. No attempt has been made to trace any of those listed, but it is probable that nearly all were based in San Francisco. Two of the contractors, Fook On Lung and Quong Fat, were shrimp camp operators. Fook On Lung Company was also known as the California Shrimp Co.

Several patterns of contractor activity can be noted. There was a very high turnover among the contractors; 32, or nearly 44 percent, were engaged in the business for only one year and 55, more than 75 percent, stayed in the business for five years or less. Only four contractors served from six to ten years, eight from 11 to 15 years, and five from 24 to 33 years. None of the contractors were in the business for the total period of interest, but Quong Ham Wah & Co. was active from 1892 to 1934. When a contractor engaged to supply the crew for a particular cannery, it was usual for him to continue with that cannery for some period of years. The more important contractors handled the recruitment of crews for more than one cannery a year, and it was not unusual for a contractor to service six or more canneries simultaneously. Some of the contractors operated independently most often, sometimes in partnerships, and some only in partnerships. Table 2 shows the activities of six contractors, two of whom, Quong Ham Wah and Chew Bun, were active in the earliest years and two, Chin Quong and Lem Sen, who were the only ones to supply crews in the last year of labor contractor activity. Hong Yick & Co. sometimes contracted independently but was more often in a partnership. Chew Mock usually operated in a partnership.

The Ethnic Composition of the Cannery Workforce

Although the cannery workforce was commonly called the "China Gang" or the "Orientals," the Chinese were predominant in only the first 16 years of the Alaska Packers Association operations. For 13 of those years the

TABLE 1

LABOR CONTRACTORS, ALASKA PACKERS ASSOCIATION, 1892-1935

Ah Gow	1904-1907
Ah Ho	1903-1906
Ah Keong	1892-1903
Ah Sing	1904
Geo. Aoki & Co.	1908
Chang Gow	1897
Chang Yick & Co.	1900
Chew Bun*	1892-1903
Chew Chew	1894-1922
Chew Fung	1894-1922
Chew Mock*	1895-1922
Chew Suen	1893-1902
Chin Jim	1909-1933
Chin Lung	1894
Chin Ng	1894
Chin Quong*	1902-1935
Chin Wing	1910-1913
Chong Yick & Co.	1902
G. Cuitow	1904
Fook On Lung	1914-1918
Fook Sang Lung & Co.	1894-1896
Gong Tyng	1893
Ham Fon	1904
Him Yick Lung & Co.	1908
Hong Fook Tong	1895-1896
Hong Tong Chew	1903
Hong Yick & Co.*	1893-1923
Hop Wo Lung & Co.	1899-1905
Hop Yick Wo & Co.	1905
John How	1903-1904
Jue Gin Look	1918-1932
Komada & Co.	1904-1906
Kwong Chong Lung Co.	1894
Kwong Chun Yuen & Co.	1900-1903
Kwong Lung Tai & Co.	1901-1905
Kwong On Lung & Co.	1901
Lee Young	1900-1908
Lem Sem*	1923-1935
Lew Kan	1909-1914
Low Dong	1904-1909
Low Soon	1896-1899
Low Yuen	1905-1908
Geo. S. Masui	1908
Mow Tuck & Co.	1892-1902
On Hing & Co.	1895-1909
On Kee & Co.	1910-1917
Oy Wo Lung	1900
Pak Sing	1904-1905
Quan Shing Lung & Co.	1903-1907
Jno. Quinn & Co.	1892-1899
Quong Fat & Co.	1900-1901
Quong Ham Wah & Co.*	1892-1934
Quong Mow Lung & Co.	1895-1899
Quong Tai Jan	1894
Quong Ying Kee	1895-1898
K. Sakama	1904
Sam Fook	1893
Sam Kee & Co.	1892-1894
Sing Kee & Co.	1900
So Ho On	1905
Geo. S. Tanaka	1904
Tuck Lung Ching & Co.	1894
F. K. Uyeninami	1929-1930
Wah Hing Lung & Co.	1893-1896
Wing Chong Wo & Co.	1901
Wing Lung On & Co.	1897-1899
Wing On Wo & Co.	1903
Wing Sang Ching & Co.	1892
John Wo & Co.	1909
Wo On Co.	1905
Wong Ling	1893
Woo On Hai Co.	1902
Young Fong & Co.	1893
Yuen Lee	1897-1898

*Additional details on the activities of these contractors are given in Table 2.
Source: Alaska Packers Association, *History*, *passim*.

Chinese comprised 100 percent, or nearly so, of the workforce, then 57 percent, 64 percent, and 54 percent. After 1908 less than half of the cannery workers were Chinese, averaging about 28 percent over the remaining 32 years of the period. Taken over the total period from 1892 to 1935 the average Chinese participation was 52 percent.

Table 3 shows the composition of the workforce by year. Reference to the list of contractors (Table 1) will show that all but one of the Japanese contractors operated between the years 1904 and 1908, and it is during this

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF CANNERIES SUPPLIED BY SIX REPRESENTATIVE CONTRACTORS

Year	Quong Ham Wah	Chew Bun	Hong Yick & Co.	Chew Mock	Chin Quong	Lem Sen
1892	2	1	.	.	.	.
1893	2	1	1	.	.	.
1894	2	1	2	.	.	.
1895	3	1	2	1	.	.
1896	1	4	2	2	.	.
1897	2	2	3	2	.	.
1898	2	2	3	2	.	.
1899	2	2	3	2	.	.
1900	2	2	3	1	.	.
1901	1	3	3	1	.	.
1902	1	6	4	1	1	.
1903	2	6	5	1	3	.
1904	1	.	6	2	3	.
1905	1	.	4	1	2	.
1906	2	.	5	2	4	.
1907	3	.	5	2	4	.
1908	3	.	5	3	3	.
1909	4	.	5	2	3	.
1910	4	.	5	3	3	.
1911	4	.	5	3	3	.
1912	4	.	6	3	3	.
1913	3	.	6	3	4	.
1914	3	.	6	3	4	.
1915	3	.	6	3	4	.
1916	3	.	6	3	3	.
1917	3	.	6	3	3	.
1918	3	.	6	3	3	.
1919	3	.	6	3	3	.
1920	4	.	6	3	3	.
1921	5	.	6	3	3	.
1922	5	.	1	3	3	.
1923	5	.	1	.	6	3
1924	4	.	.	.	7	5
1925	4	.	.	.	8	5
1926	4	.	.	.	3	4
1927	4	.	.	.	4	3
1928	4	.	.	.	5	3
1929	4	.	.	.	5	2
1930	3	.	.	.	4	2
1931	6	.	.	.	3	.
1932	4	.	.	.	3	2
1933	4	.	.	.	2	3
1934	4	.	.	.	2	3
1935	.	.	.	.	1	1

TABLE 3

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CANNERY WORKFORCE

Year	Number of Canneries Operated	Number of Labor Contractors	Number of Employees Supplied	Chinese No.	Chinese %	Japanese No.	Japanese %	Mexican No.	Mexican %	Filipino No.	Filipino %	Other No.	Other %
1892	8	7	978	978	100								
1893	13	13	1141	1141	100								
1894	14	14	1166	1166	100								
1895	14	12	1208	1208	100								
1896	16	16	1510	1510	100								
1897	15	14	1420	1420	100								
1898	14	13	2096	2096	100								
1899	14	13	1858	1858	100								
1900	16	14	2162	2162	100								
1901	18	13	2562	2562	100								
1902	23	16	2737	2737	100								
1903	23	14	3101	3101	100								
1904	22	21	3132	3132	100								
1905	14	14	2169	1236	57.0	823	37.9					110	5.1
1906	18	12	2208	1413	64.0	563	25.5					232	10.5
1907	15	11	2023	1087	53.7	790	39.1					146	7.2
1908	16	11	2175	981	45.1	892	41.0					302	13.9
1909	15	7	2139	988	46.2	588	27.5					563	26.3
1910	13	9	2318	887	38.3	221	9.5					1131	48.8
1911	15	8	2333	806	33.5	49	2.1					1478	63.4
1912	15	7	2226	629	28.3	57	2.6					1540	69.2
1913	15	7	2015	558	27.7	34	1.7					1423	70.6
1914	15	8	1862	527	28.3			695	37.3	450	24.2	190	10.2
1915	15	7	1777	521	29.3			522	29.4	470	26.4	264	14.9
1916	14	7	1688	499	29.6			458	27.1	510	30.2	221	13.1

TABLE 3 *(Continued)*

Year	Number of Canneries Operated	Number of Labor Contractors	Number of Employees Supplied	Chinese		Japanese		Mexican		Filipino		Other	
				No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1917	14	7	1778	496	27.9			650	36.6	309	17.4	323	18.2
1918	14	7	1866	414	22.2			995	53.3	105	5.6	352	18.9
1919	14	6	1858	425	22.9			1191	64.1	54	2.9	188	10.1
1920	15	6	1891	350	18.5			1185	62.7	50	2.6	306	16.2
1921	12	6	1427	282	19.8			884	61.9	224	15.7	37	2.6
1922	13	6	1601	355	22.2			807	50.4	365	22.8	74	4.6
1923	13	5	1626	322	19.8			1064	65.4	97	6.0	143	8.8
1924	13	4	1458	303	20.8			772	52.9	223	15.3	160	11.0
1925	14	4	1682	366	21.8			898	53.4	145	8.6	273	16.2
1926	12	4	1418	307	21.7			708	49.9	132	9.3	271	19.1
1927	12	4	1403	313	22.3			734	52.3	126	9.0	230	16.4
1928	13	4	1481	295	19.9			665	44.9	291	19.6	230	15.5
1929	13	5	1532	298	19.5	55	3.6	636	41.5	370	24.2	173	11.3
1930	11	5	1216	250	20.6	55	4.5	429	35.3	343	28.2	139	11.4
1931	10	3	1196	274	22.9			597	49.9	281	23.5	44	3.7
1932	10	4	1251	361	28.9			597	47.7	262	20.9	31	2.5
1933	9	3	1137	321	28.2			510	44.9	270	23.7	36	3.2
1934	9	3	1170	534	45.6			348	29.7	212	18.1	76	6.5
1935	2	2	272	132	48.5			8	2.9	131	48.2	1	0.4

Source: Alaska Packers Association, *History*, *passim*.

time span that the greatest number of Japanese were employed in the canneries. After 1908 the Japanese participation decreases abruptly.

Mexican and Filipino cannery workers were first differentiated from "Other" in 1914, and for all of the years but two after that time Mexican workers formed the largest ethnic group. From the large numbers of Mexicans and Filipinos listed in 1914, it may be presumed that they formed a substantial portion of the "Other" category, at least from 1910. The change in nationality of the cannery workers posed a new problem in recruitment for the contractors; not only was the contractor required to provide an interface between Chinese- and English-speaking parties, but Spanish-speaking workers also had to be accommodated. The recruitment portion of the problem was handled, partially at least, by resorting to employment agencies and firms dealing with Mexican nationals. In some cases the intermediary was a Chinatown firm, Myers and Young. It is possible that a large portion of the complaints about unscrupulous treatment of cannery workers by the contractors can be laid to this firm, or others like it, since Myers and Young are said to have been charged with violations of the law relating to peonage.[17] Commencing in 1919 the ledgers contain a new entry for one or more Mexican foreman at each of the canneries where Mexicans were employed.

The impact of certain events on the Alaska salmon canning industry can be related to the figures given in Table 3. The year 1892 was one in which only eight Alaska Packing Association canneries were operated, and the rise from less than 1,000 cannery workers to more than 3,000 represents the workforce to man additional canneries. In 1903 the "Iron Chink" was invented, but it was not introduced into Alaska canneries until the following year. From the figures, it could be mistakenly implied that the introduction of the "Iron Chink" was responsible for the precipitous decline in Chinese workers from 1904 to 1905. Actually, the drop in total labor force is more easily explained by the fact that 22 canneries were operated in 1904 and only 14 in 1905. Furthermore, only one "Iron Chink" was used in Alaska in 1904, and after a short period of operation it was returned to Seattle for repairs and modification.[18]

The decreasing Chinese participation follows, in general, the decline of the Chinese population in California attributable to the Exclusion Acts for the years in 1920. The reason for the decaying predominance of Chinese workers in the canneries is not readily apparent at this time, however. The last year that cannery crews were procured through labor contractors was 1935. Only two canneries were in operation. In 1936 agreements were reached with the newly organized Alaska Cannery Workers Union (C.I.O) and seven canneries were operated. The cannery workforce, totalling 1,186 in 1936, was about 30 percent Chinese, 15 percent Mexican, 29 percent Filipinos, and 26 percent not identified.

The Cannery Worker's Contract

When the cannery worker agreed to undertake employment at a cannery in Alaska, he signed an agreement with the labor contractor, at which time an account book was prepared for each worker. Upon signing, the worker was given a $20 advance on his earnings which was entered in his account book. In 1909 the advance was increased to $30, and in 1910 to $40. In 1914 the advance was reduced to $30, and in 1915 to $15. Five days before sailing the man was given a second advance of $20, also recorded in his account book. In 1915 the second advance was increased to $35. The second advance was presumably given the worker to outfit himself for the season, and it is likely that every labor contractor had on hand all of the supplies he wished to sell to the workers at the time the advance was paid. The charge has often been made, though not documented in detail, that the contractors urged, or forced, the workers to buy supplies that were inadequate or not needed. The minimum requirement was for suitable clothing for the work and season and bedding. Any purchases in excess of the second advance was also entered into the account book, and the goods were usually delivered to the buyer after he boarded the ship that was to carry him to Alaska.

The employment was undertaken in consideration of a guaranteed minimum pay for the season and found. The contractor supplied the meals, and the Alaska Packers Association supplied transportation to and from the cannery, fuel, salt, water, and a place to sleep.

After the crew had boarded their ship, additional supplies could be had from the Chinese foreman who operated a slop chest in which delicacies, opium, and other articles could be charged in the worker's account book.[19]

Travel to the Canneries

For most of the years discussed here, transportation to and from the canneries was by sailing ships. Table 4, which is not considered to be complete or wholly accurate as to dates, is presented for the purpose of identifying the periods during which different kinds of vessels were used in support of the cannery operations. The Alaska Packers Association fleet consisted of vessels modified to the requirements of the trade in their shipyard at Alameda. The vessels were maintained in first class condition to meet the standards established by Lloyds or other agencies for the most favorable rates on insurance for vessels and cargoes.[20]

The necessity for operating their own vessels, even for the short time of intended use, arose from the difficulty of arranging charters for the required number of suitable vessels during the period of demand. The fleet was augmented by charter, however, in most of the earlier years. For example, 23 vessels, owned and chartered, were sent to Alaska in 1900. Thirty-two vessels were employed in 1904. Table 4 shows that only about half that number were owned by the Association.

From 1893 to 1905 the fleet consisted primarily of wooden-hulled, square-rigged ships and barks. About 1900 the decision was made to change to iron

TABLE 4

PRINCIPAL VESSELS OF THE ALASKA PACKERS ASSOCIATION, 1893-1935

Wooden Hull Sailing Ships		Iron/Steel Hull Sailing Ships	
George Skolfield	1893-1900	Star of Russia	1902-1926
Electra	1894-1910	Star of Alaska	1905-1933
James A. Porland	1894-1896	Star of Bengal	1906-1908
Merom	1894-1900	Star of England	1906-1929
Llewellyn J. Morse	1895-1926	Star of France	1906-1929
Will W. Case	1895-1905	Star of Italy	1906-1927
Centennial	1896-1927	Star of Scotland	1908-1926
Santa Clara	1896-1926	Star of Holland	1909-1929
Bohemia	1897-1926	Star of Iceland	1909-1929
Nicholas Thayer	1897-1900	Star of Lapland	1909-1935
Sterling	1897-1898	Star of Finland	1910-1929
Indiana	1898-1926	Star of Greenland	1910-1929
Tacoma	1898-1918	Star of Zealand	1910-1935
Two Brothers	1899-1900	Star of Poland	1912-1918
Levi A. Burgess	1904-	Star of Falkland	1922-1928
Columbia	1905-	Star of Shetland	1922-1935
M. P. Grace	1905-	Steamships	
Iron/Steel Hull Sailing Ships		Arctic	1925-1935
Star of Chile	1901-1926	Bering	1926-1935
Star of India	1901-1926	Chirikof	1928-1935
Star of Peru	1902-1926	Lurline	1929-1935

or steel ships, and the first of these was purchased in 1901, the year in which several foreign-built iron vessels were admitted to U.S. Registry. With the acquisition of the *Star of Bengal, Star of France,* and *Star of Italy* in 1906, it was decided to rename all of the iron and steel vessels as "Stars." Nineteen vessels were so-named but there were apparently no more than 17 at any one time. The period of "Star" fleet prominence was from 1907 to 1908 to about 1927 when 12 of them still remained under the Alaska Packers' house flag. In 1928 five sailing ships were sent to Alaska and in 1929 only two. By the end of 1929 most had been sold and none were sent to Alaska after that year. In 1925 the Association bought their first large steamship, the *Arctic*, the following year the *Bering* was acquired, and two years later the *Chirikof*. Each of the steamships could service two canneries, whereas the sailing ships customarily went to a cannery and remained there until the season ended. Furthermore, the steamship made faster passages and crews were easier to find.

From the approximate time spans during which the different kinds of vessels were in use, it can be seen that the largest numbers of Chinese cannery workers were employed before the advent of the "Star" fleet.

The number of fishermen and cannery workers to be carried by the sailing vessels required modifications to increase the amount of living space. The fishermen, sometimes almost equal in number to the cannery workers, were usually housed under the poop deck which was sometimes lengthened forward to provide sufficient space. The "Orientals" were allocated space in the forward part of the 'tween decks, the next deck below the main deck. These quarters were called "Chinatown." The Chinese foreman had a small cabin in which he lived and stored the merchandise he had brought to sell to the workers enroute to the cannery. The laborers occupied three-tiered bunks.[21]

Other required modifications were special galleys for the preparation of the foods of the major ethnic groups. On the *Star of France* there were separate galleys for Americans, Chinese, Mexicans, and Italians. The Chinese and Mexican galleys were next to each other under the forecastle head. Across from the galleys were the open heads (troughs for toilets) which were hosed down twice a day. The Chinese galley consisted of a brick structure with three large iron pots cemented into the top. Pine blocks, or "China wood" was used for cooking. The Mexican galley was a large iron coal stove. Three meals were prepared every day. After the food was cooked, it was carried to the living quarters below in large bowls and each Chinese scooped his portion from the large bowl into his own smaller bowl. The Mexicans were each supplied with a tin plate, a cup, and utensils, which were charged into their account books.

The outbound passages were usually the slowest, requiring an average of 35 days. In 1918, the year many of the ships were caught in the Bering Sea ice, the *Star of India* was 57 days enroute from San Francisco to Nushagak. Two years later she made the same passage in 20 days. About 20 days was more usual for the southbound passage, but in 1912 the *Star of Scotland* made it from Karluk in 8 days. The average time for the steamships was about 10 days.

Table 5 gives data on the transport of cannery workers for 1905, a year in which 14 canneries were operated. The times in transit range from 16 days to the nearest cannery to 42 days to one of the most distant. The number of workers carried, not including fishermen, and the number of days in transit indicate that the adequacy of the water supply was always a problem. Augmentation of the supply of water was another modification of the ships required for the trade. Water was doled out twice a day, but those at the end of the waiting line were not always lucky enough to get their share. The cannery workers were given no water for washing, but the ship's crew, the fishermen, were allowed to wash every third day.[22]

As a consequence of being unwashed for a long time and the use of straw mattresses, the quarters were usually infested by fleas and lice. At least one master always wore rubber boots in "Chinatown" when making his daily inspection, reasoning that neither fleas nor lice could stick to the rubber during his visits. The use of candles for lighting and the straw mattresses on the bunks combined to present a considerable fire hazard. The cannery workers were on board for several days before sailing, and in one instance

TABLE 5

VESSELS AND CANNERY WORKERS TRANSPORTED, 1905

Vessel	Cannery Workers Transported				Cannery	Departure from San Francisco	Arrival at Cannery	Days in Transit	Departure from Cannery	Days at Cannery
	Chinese	Japanese	Other	Total						
Ship *Indiana*	68	32	...	100	Nushagak NC-2	4-11	5-12	32	8-22	101
Bark *Electra*	88	60	...	148	Nushagak PHJ	4-13	5-24	42	8-25	92
Bark *Euterpe*[1]	126	72	...	198	Nushagak NC-1	4-16	5-16	31	8-22	91
Ship *Bohemia*	120	133	51	304	Koggiung X	4-14	5-3	20	8-22	110
Ship *Santa Clara*	112	80	8	200	Koggiung J	4-15	5-8	24	8-21	104
Ship *Columbia*	107	91	2	200	Naknek O	4-16	5-25	40	8-22	88
Ship *Tacoma*	103	94	2	199	Naknek NN	4-15	5-14	30	8-21	98
Bark *Coalinga*[2]	...	150	...	150	Ugashik U	4-22	5-19	28	8-15	89
Ship *M. P. Grace*	71	26	4	101	Chignik C	4-4	4-29	26	8-26	118
Bark *Levi G. Burgess*	63	19	...	82	Alitak A	4-27	5-21	25	9-4	105
Ship *Star of Russia*[3]	196	36	28	260	Karluk KS/AIC	4-1	4-24	24	7-28	94
Ship *Llewellyn J. Morse*	65	15	15	95	Cook Inlet CI	3-25	4-18	25	7-28	131
Ship *William H. Macy*	117	15	...	132	Loring L	5-6	5-21	16	9-20	90
Totals	1236	823	110	2169			Averages	27.3		100.8

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[1] Later called *Star of India.*

[2] Later called *Star of Chile.*

[3] *Star of Russia* sailed from Karluk 7-28-1905 and the following day stranded on Chirikof Island. On 8-7 she returned to Karluk, made temporary repairs, and sailed for San Francisco on 8-16.

a fire started in "Chinatown" on the *Tacoma*. The departure had to be delayed until repairs were completed. After arrival at the cannery the workers were held on board for several days until the water supply at the cannery became operable and steam was available for the pumps. All of the buildings were of wood, and when the plant was shut down at the end of the previous season, all water lines were drained to prevent damage from freezing. The plants were extremely vulnerable to fire until they were put into operating condition.

Table 5 notes the stranding of the *Star of Russia*. Not all such accidents had the fortunate outcome of this vessel. The ship *Sterling*, with 150 Chinese cannery workers aboard, struck an uncharted reef in the vicinity of Nushagak Bay at 6:00 a.m. on May 20, 1898. At 8:30 a.m. the Chinese were landed on Cape Constantine. By 5:00 p.m. the vessel began to break up. The Chinese and crew were picked up on the evening of May 21 by the steamship *President*. No lives were lost. The *Balclutha*, later called the *Star of Alaska*, grounded off the southern end of Kodiak Island in the early morning hours of May 17, 1904 while under full sail. After grounding, the cannery workers and crew got ashore and camped until rescued by a small steamer from Karluk. No lives were lost. The vessel had been under charter to the Alaska Packers Association, who bought it very cheaply after it went aground and then salvaged the ship. The *Star of Bengal*, with 110 Chinese cannery workers and 28 others aboard, was blown ashore on Coronation Island while bound from Fort Wrangell on September 20, 1908. Increasing winds broke up the ship before life saving gear could be rigged. Ten Chinese and 17 Caucasians managed to survive on the rocky coast. All others were lost. On May 17, 1918, the ship *Tacoma* was crushed in the ice after passing through Unimak Pass into the Bering Sea. On May 19 the ship was abandoned and sank. The cannery workers and crew, after camping on the ice, made their way to other icebound vessels in the vicinity. One seaman died from cold and exposure.[23] In 36 years of sailing ship operations, only nine total losses were sustained by the Alaska Packers Association.

Life at the Canneries

When the cannery workers went ashore at the cannery they moved their bedding and other personal property into the "China House," a bunk house designated for their use. At most canneries the arrival date was well ahead of the time the salmon would commence their runs to the spawning grounds. The principal work of the cannery crew prior to the packing of fish was the making of cans and boxes. At a later time it was found to be practicable to have the can bodies, without ends, made in San Francisco and flattened for shipment. At the cannery the bodies were rounded out and bottoms soldered in. Box shooks, cut to size, were carried to Alaska with the season's supplies and nailed at the cannery.[24]

In addition to the cannery tasks, pigs and chickens taken north in coops on deck were to be cared for. Usually it was possible to get a litter of pigs during the season. At some of the canneries vegetable gardens were planted.

These were Chinese enterprises insofar as it can be determined.[25] There was also time to make a little Chinese gin, which could be profitably sold to the Natives. Fines for selling liquor to the Natives were deducted from the contract price for the Naknek canneries in 1906.

All of the work in the canning process was the responsibility of the labor contractor. He selected the men to do the work and payment was contingent upon canning all of the fish the cannery could handle. This necessitated long working days when the salmon were running. During the run the salmon are present seven days a week, and for many years the canneries also operated continually. In later years a six-day week was adopted.

The most important Chinese workers, as identified in the Alaska Packers Association ledgers, were the foremen and the testers. The foremen were employed on the basis of one for each two filling machines, or lines. The foremen was the go-between in any dealings that the cannery workers might have with the master of the vessel in which they were transported or with the cannery superintendent. Experienced testers were critical to the canning operation as the loss of product from spoilage was deducted from the contract. There was one tester for each filling machine.

In the earlier days of the industry the canning process commenced with a butcher who cut off the head, fins, and tail, and then removed the viscera of each fish. Some butchers were capable of handling 1,700 fish a day. The fish were thrown into a tub where they were washed and scraped with a knife, but not scaled. After cleaning, they were placed in a wooden trough and cut to can length with gang-knives. The fish sections were set on end and cut into three parts, one of which was large enough to fill a can. The cans were filled by hand, the top soldered on, then packed in a vat of hot water, and checked for leaks. If the cans leaked the solder was repaired. The cans were put in an iron tank and boiled for 1¾ hours in salt water. After this first cooking, the heads of the cans bulged and a small hole was punched in one end to relieve the pressure. The hole was soldered closed immediately. After cooking in salt water for another 1½ hours, each can was tapped with a ten-penny nail and defects were noted by the sound. Leaky cans were sent back for rework.[26]

Constant improvements were made in the process as the industry expanded. Near the end of the century work spaces had been reorganized to increase the efficiency of the operations. Fish cleaning took place in the fish house where the fish were washed twice and brushed. In 1904 the "Iron Chink" was introduced into the Alaskan Canneries. This machine was a large circular device that performed all of the operations formerly done by the butchers. The cleaned fish were stacked in bins on each side of the cutting machine. Carrier trays conveyed them to the gang-knives and then to the filling machine after they were cut to the proper length. From the outset Alaska Packers Association canneries had filling machines capable of filling the cans for 800 cases of 48 cans a day. The machines filled only one pound tall cans, all other can sizes and shapes continued to be hand packed. In later years the number of machines at the major canneries was increased.[27]

After leaving the filling machine, the cans went to an inspection table for weight check. Small quantities of fish were added by hand to make up any shortage. Can tops, with an open vent, were crimped on by machine and the cans conveyed to a soldering machine, after which they passed through a water spray to cool. The vent was soldered by hand and one layer of cans was placed in a strap-iron tray holding 96 cans. The trays were handled by hoists and lowered into a hot water tank for the first leak test. Leaking cans were removed with tongs for immediate repair of the soldering by hand.

The trays were stacked on a truck and placed in a retort for the first cooking by steam. The retort was known as the bath room. The cans were cooked for an hour or more, as in the earlier process. When the first cooking was completed, the cans were vented by tapping each of them with a wooden mallet having an awl point in its face. After the pressure was relieved, the vents were soldered. The trays were then placed in a second retort for a final cooking until the bones were soft. After the final cooking the cans were still tested with a nail to identify those that were to be reworked, given a lye bath to remove grease and dirt followed by a fresh water bath to remove the lye, and then taken to a cooling room. When cooled, the cans were stacked in a tray and dipped in a vat of lacquer to inhibit rust. This operation was followed by labeling and boxing. A cannery operating at full capacity did not have time to repair defective cans. These were diverted to be used for chicken feed or sold under some other label, mostly to South Sea Islanders.

The Bristol Bay canneries presented special problems because of the relatively short period of ice-free waters. The vessels and crews usually arrived

TABLE 6

INDIVIDUAL CANNERY WORKERS CONTRACT EARNINGS, 1905

Cannery	*Gross Share*	*Days at Cannery*	*Daily Earnings*
Alitak A	$206.66	105	$1.97
Chignik C	$293.38 (High)	118	$2.49
Cook Inlet CI	$111.69 (Low)	131	$0.85 (Low)
Karluk KS	$234.10	94	$2.49
Karluk AIC	$218.37	94	$2.32
Koggiung J	$212.91	104	$2.05
Koggiung X	$209.53	110	$1.90
Loring L	$286.88	90	$3.19 (High)
Naknek NN	$237.32	98	$2.42
Naknek O	$233.44	88	$2.65
Nushagak PHJ	$273.91	92	$2.98
Nushagak NC-1	$266.70	91	$2.93
Nushagak NC-2	$259.39	101	$2.57
Ugashik U	$190.00	89	$2.13

in May when there were no salmon in the streams. From about June 6 to 16, depending on the conditions in the river, the first run of king salmon was expected. These fish were not packed by most of the Bristol Bay canneries because they were too few in number. They were taken and eaten, and sometimes the bellies were salted by those who wanted them for their own use. The red salmon runs commenced about June 16 to 20 and they appeared in numbers sufficient to operate the canneries. From the time the red salmon runs started until July 20 to 25 when the runs ceased, the cannery operated at full capacity. The work day started at 3:00 a.m. and usually did not end before 11:00 p.m. After the fish were canned, the cans were stacked in warehouses since there was no time to lacquer, label, and box the product. The butchers and fish cleaners were on their feet all day, standing in gurry. Swollen feet and ankles were common among them. The bath room men were always on the move and were the last to clean up at night. The men at the lye tanks were constantly spattered by lye. These conditions continued for four or five weeks and then the rush began for the final clean up so that the ships could be loaded and get out of the Bering Sea before the end of August. The final clean up included testing, lacquering, labeling, and boxing the canned fish and getting the canneries prepared for being shut down.[28]

Unlike the canneries in the Gulf of Alaska and Southeast Alaska, the Bering Sea canneries did not at first make their own cans but had them made in San Francisco and shipped them to the Bristol Bay canneries. About 1901 canmaking machines, leased from the American Can Company, were introduced and cans made at the canneries according to daily requirements.

TABLE 7

RANGES OF CONTRACT RATES PER CASE FOR GUARANTEED PACK, 1892-1933

(in cents)

1892	42.5-45	1906	47.2-50	1920	72
1893	42 -45	1907	47.5-52.5	1921	56
1894	42 -45	1908	47.5-52.5	1922	59
1895	40 -42.5	1909	47.5-52.5	1923	59
1896	40 -42.5	1910	47.5-52.5	1924	59
1897	40 -42.5	1911	43 -55	1925	59
1898	40 -42.5	1912	43 -55	1926	59
1899	40 -42.5	1913	43 -55	1927	59
1900	42.5-45	1914	40 -50	1928	59
1901	42.5-45	1915	25 -41.5	1929	54
1902	52.5-55	1916	24 -41.5	1930	49 -54
1903	52.5-55	1917	24 -41.5	1931	50
1904	52.5-55	1918	52.5-54	1932	47.5
1905	47.5-52.5	1919	62 -65	1933	45

The Cannery Worker's Earnings

The earnings of the cannery worker for the season depended primarily on the contract agreement for a guaranteed pack. Table 6 shows the gross pay of the cannery workers for 1905, that is, the amount paid to the contractor divided by the number of cannery employees. Under the terms of the guarantee for 1905, the rate varied from 47.5 to 52.5 cents per case. That rate applied to the guaranteed pack. If the number of cases packed at a cannery exceeded the guarantee the rate for excess cases was reduced by 5 cents; if the number of cases was less than the guarantee, payment was made for the guaranteed pack. Of the fourteen canneries listed, nine produced more than the guaranteed pack; Chignik and Loring each packed nearly half again the quantity guaranteed. The other five canneries produced less than

TABLE 8

SEASON EARNINGS FOR FOREMEN AND TESTERS, 1905-1935

	Chinese Foremen	*Mexican Foremen*	*Chinese Testers*
1905	$ 336.00 - 528.50		$181.62 - 346.62
1906	100.74 - 513.33		171.50 - 325.00
1907	338.33 - 494.67		208.31 - 375.00
1908	354.67 - 497.00		250.00 - 355.00
1909	375.00 - 460.00		250.00 - 306.67
1910	490.00 - 666.67		380.00 - 492.50
1911	466.67 - 683.34		350.00 - 512.50
1912	490.00 - 646.67		367.50 - 485.00
1913	496.67 - 613.00		372.50 - 460.00
1914	480.00 - 610.00		360.00 - 480.00
1915	480.00 - 600.00		360.00 - 450.00
1916	486.67 - 680.00		365.00 - 462.50
1917	507.78 - 680.00		380.83 - 510.00
1918	612.00 - 824.00		459.00 - 618.00
1919	572.00 - 768.00	$ 500.00	428.33 - 576.00
1920	565.50 - 834.44	500.00	409.50 - 570.00
1921	557.92 - 797.33	500.00	386.25 - 552.00
1922	580.67 - 888.34	600.00	402.00 - 615.00
1923	509.16 - 819.00	600.00	353.33 - 566.50
1924	450.67 - 901.33	600.00	312.00 - 624.00
1925	504.84 - 1064.67	500.00 - 600.00	349.50 - 567.00
1926	463.67 - 879.67	500.00 - 600.00	321.00 - 738.00
1927	394.33 - 853.66	550.00 - 850.00	273.00 - 591.00
1928	411.67 - 862.33	500.00 - 850.00	276.00 - 597.00
1929	364.00 - 866.67	600.00 - 700.00	252.00 - 600.00
1930	283.84 - 715.00	500.00	225.00 - 495.00
1931	290.33 - 797.33	500.00	201.00 - 552.00
1932	385.67 - 801.67	500.00	263.25 - 555.00
1933	372.67 - 784.33	500.00	258.00 - 543.00
1934	1000.00 - 1200.00	575.00 - 750.00	450.00
1935	- 1100.00	750.00	450.00

the guaranteed pack; Alitak packed less than half the guarantee and Cook Inlet packed just over half. In spite of these discrepancies, the total pack for the season was within 0.2 percent of the guaranteed pack. The ranges of contract rates to 1933 are given in Table 7.

The critical responsibilities of the foreman and testers were recognized from the beginning, and the many arrangements for extra compensation for these two jobs present a considerable difficulty in trying to determine the cannery worker's earnings for the season. Both the foreman and testers sometimes received a stipulated amount in addition to their lay, without a lay, or for the season. After 1905 the pay for foremen and testers was by the season and they did not share in the guaranteed pack payment. The ranges of compensation for the season for foremen and testers is given in Table 8.

TABLE 9

LABOR RATES, 1934-1935

	1934	1935
Chinese laborer	$ 70/month	$ 50/month
Mexican laborer	$ 50/month	$ 50/month
Fish pewers		$ 70/month
Retort men		$ 75/month
Can washers		$ 75/month
Can pilers		$ 80/month
Fish butchers		$ 90/month
Chinese cook	$450 - $ 550/season	$500/season
Chinese second cook	$300 - $ 400/season	$400/season
Mexican cook	$350 - $ 400/season	$400/season
Mexican second cook	$225 - $ 400/season	$400/season
Filipino second cook		$130/month
Waiter		$ 65/month
Chinese asst. foreman	$550 - $1000/season	$900/season
Mexican asst. foreman	$400 - $ 575/season	$400/season
Chinese asst. tester	$ 380/season	$400/season

Cannery workers, other than the foremen and testers, appear to have shared equally in the payment for the pack at first but by the 1920's, if not earlier, some differentiation based on skill had commenced. Butchers earned $30 to $40 more for the season than laborers, and cleaners earned somewhat less than the butchers.[29] After 1933, minimum earnings for the season were no longer established by the guaranteed pack but a scale of earnings based on job classification was substituted. These rates are given in table 9.

Whatever the gross earnings for the season may have been, they were subject to deductions for advances, slop chest and commissary purchases, and board. Together with gambling losses, an improvident cannery worker could return to San Francisco with little to show for the season's effort.

CONCLUSIONS

Only tentative conclusions can be put forth at this early stage of the investigation of the role of the Chinese in the Alaska salmon canning industry. The partial records of one of the major organizations in the industry, though the largest, have been considered.

At times it may appear that the over-riding objective of Chinese-American historical research is to document racial discrimination. There is little, if any fuel, in this topic to feed the fire. If the work was hard, that can be laid only to the limited period of resource availability. If the pay was meager, it was not less than that offered to non-Chinese for comparable work. If cannery workers were the victims of unscrupulous dealings, the fault lay not with the Alaska Packers Association but with the labor contractors.

A preference for Chinese cannery workers was initially based (in 1872) on the factors that (1) they were diligent and dependable workers, (2) they were readily available, and (3) they resisted organization in unions. While the packers could see considerable merit in these attributes, the same cannot be said for many outside the industry. There was the usual cry that Chinese were taking jobs that Caucasians should have, but the recorded numbers of Chinese in the industry was over-emphasized by reference to the cannery workforce as the "China Gang," even though the Chinese actually comprised only about a fifth of the total workforce for most years. The resistance of Chinese to joining unions needs to be examined in light of the fact that most unions were opposed to Chinese membership.

Chinese cannery workers were not paid less than they would have earned at other jobs, and there is some evidence to show that this was preferred employment, since a number of workers left their usual jobs as farm laborers to go to the canneries each season. The Alaska cannery season coincided with the period of school vacations, and it has been pointed out by a former cannery worker that this summer employment made it possible for many young Chinese to continue their educations.

A vast amount of research is necessary to complete this investigation, but it seems clear now that the salmon canning industry, based on one of the major resources of Western America, would not have progressed without the participation of the Chinese. From the introduction of Chinese labor into the canneries in 1872 to the decline of their labor in the industry about 1907 spans a mere third of a century. But that was the period during which the industry processes were formulated. Without the impetus provided by Chinese availability, who would have known that Filipinos or Mexicans should be sought to provide a workforce? Or is it possible that the northern salmon resource would not have been developed until the advent of shipboard refrigeration?

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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[5] C. A. Logan, "History of Mining and Milling Methods in California," in California Division of Mines, *Geologic Guidebook along Highway 49—Sierra Gold Belt. The Mother Lode Country* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1948), p. 31. The earliest notice of hydraulic mining in California was 1853 near Nevada City.

[6] DeLoach, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and California Division of Fish and Game, *The Commercial Fish Catch of California for the Year 1947 With an Historical Review 1916-1947* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1949), p. 45.

[7] Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Dodds, *op. cit.*, P. 7, 10; Browning, *op. cit.*, p. 42; David Starr Jordan and Charles H. Gilbert, "The Salmon Fishing and Canning Interest of the Pacific Coast," in George Brown Goode, *The Fisheries and Fishing Industries of the United States*, Sec. V, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 751; and Collins, *op. cit.*, *passim.*

[10] Tarleton H. Bean, "Report on the Salmon and Salmon Rivers of Alaska, with Notes on the Conditions, Methods, and Needs of the Salmon Fisheries," in *Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission . . . for 1889* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 202.

[11] Marshall McDonald, "Report on the Salmon Fisheries of Alaska," in *Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission . . . for 1892* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 9-11. Jefferson F. Moser, "The Salmon and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska," in *Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission . . . for 1898* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 16-21.

[12] Alaska Packers Association, *History, 1891-1904.* See Note 16.

[13] Browning, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[14] James A. Crutchfield and Giulio Pontecorvo, *The Pacific Salmon Fisheries: A Study of Irrational Conservation* (Washington: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1969), p. 53-54.

[15] Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China: Bridge between East and West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 1, 11, 12, 47, 208, 213, 220, 221.

[16] The specific documents of interest are eight manuscript volumes identified as *History* [for the periods 1891-1904, 1905-1909, 1910-1914, 1915-1921, 1922-(1927), 1928-(1934), 1935-(1940), and 1941-] deposited in the Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. The documents do not comprise a narrative history of the Alaska Packers Association but are a chronological compilation of minutes, stockholder reports, accounts, and other material. The "China Contracts" are separately presented for each year from 1892. Page numbering duplications in a single volume and other inconsistencies make it inadvisable to use the

numbers in references. Unless otherwise noted, the material which follows is from these volumes.

[17] Interview with Mr. Axel Widerstrom on August 13, 1974.

[18] Ralph W. Andrews and A. K. Larssen, *Fish and Ships* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1959), p. 58.

[19] See Note 17.

[20] Walter Macarthur, *Last Days of Sail on the West Coast* (San Francisco: Walter Macarthur, 1929), p. 45-50. John Lyman, "The *Star of Scotland*, ex-*Kenilworth*," *American Neptune*, 1 (October, 1941), p. 333-334. Harold Huycke, "The *Scottish Lady*," *American Neptune*, 7 (October, 1947), p. 288-297. Harold D. Huycke, "The American Four-Mast Bark *Star of Poland*, ex-*Acme*," *American Neptune*, 8 (October, 1948), p. 279-288. Harold D. Huycke, "Colonial Trader to Museum Ship: The Bark *Star of India*," *American Neptune*, 10 (April, 1950), -. 108-122.

[21] See Note 17. An example of Chinatown quarters has been preserved in the museum ship *Balclutha*, ex-*Star of Alaska* in San Francisco.

[22] See Note 17.

[23] Macarthur, *op. cit.*, p. 85-97.

[24] See Note 17.

[25] Talk of George Doung before the Chinese Historical Society of America, San Francisco, on November 15, 1974. Mr. Doung's remarks concerned life at Pacific American Fisheries canneries in the early 1920's, but apply equally to the canneries of the Alaska Packers Association.

[26] Jordan and Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 747.

[27] Moser, *op. cit.*, p. 23-31.

[28] Jefferson F. Moser, "Salmon Investigations of the Steamer Albatross in the Summer of 1900," in *Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission ... for 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 184-185. A large model of a salmon cannery is on exhibit in the main hold of the museum ship *Balclutha*, ex-*Star of Alaska*, San Francisco.

[29] Interview with Mr. Robert Chinn on August 13, 1974.

AN ECONOMIC PROFILE OF CHINESE-AMERICANS: SOME PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

By

YUAN-LI WU

The present paper is an account of some of the preliminary findings of an as yet unfinished study which some of us are undertaking. The entire study is of much broader coverage.

A popular Bureau of the Census publication on Asian Americans makes the point that as a country of immigrants the United States has accepted peoples from different parts of the world who have come here to seek a better life and to make the best of their opportunities. This general assertion raises a two-fold question. Out of curiosity one may well ask whether, as far as the Chinese-Americans are concerned, they have actually optimized their opportunities here. A second question is whether the American society at large on its part has made the best use of the human resource the Chinese represent. So it is a dual optimization question. I am not at all certain that we are going to be able to answer both questions unequivocally. At any rate, let us look at some of the facts, focusing on census data of the period between 1940 and 1970, that is, from the eve of the Second World War to nearly the present time.

The first thing census data tells us is that the median income of Chinese families in this country is higher than that of all U.S. families. For instance, according to the 1960 census, the median income of Chinese-American families was about $6,200 while that of all American families was $5,660. Ten years later, in 1969, the Chinese-American median figure was $10,610 and that of all American families was $9,600. This would seem to suggest that the Chinese have done quite well for themselves. If you look at available data for other minority ethnic groups, you would find that only Japanese-Americans have fared better. All the other groups have much lower median incomes than the all U.S. median.

However, if you look at some other figures, you would receive a totally different impression. What I have done is to look at the annual incomes of individual persons in the United States. Here the statistics are differentiated, for the Chinese as well as for all the people, between males and females. If the male persons' incomes in this country are examined, the median income of the Chinese males in 1959 was $3,471. The corresponding median income of all U.S. males was $4,100. In 1969, the Chinese figure was $5,200 versus the all U.S. male figure of $6,400. So there is a very distinct disparity. However, if one compares the median incomes of female persons, exactly the reverse would be true. In 1959 the median income of female Chinese was $2,000 versus the all U.S. female figure of $1,357. In 1969, the female Chinese median income was about $2,700 versus $2,300 for all U.S. females. One important question is: how are we to reconcile this data with the previous figures on family income?

The answer seems to lie in the following facts. First, of the working age population a larger proportion among the Chinese is within the labor force. Second, of the census years, with the exception of the 1950 census, the ratio of the employed to the labor force was also higher for the Chinese than for the overall U.S. population. Similar comparisons hold regarding the number of income earners within the family and the size of the family. According to the 1970 census, 36% of all Chinese-American families had 5 or more persons. In contrast, Caucasian American families having 5 persons or more were only 23% of the total. Furthermore, 59% of the Chinese-American families had two or more income earners each. The corresponding over-all U.S. figure was only 51%. At the other end of the scale, only 5% of the Chinese-American families had no income earners as against 9% for all U.S. families.

These statistics imply that the Chinese-American family earns a larger than average income by having more persons at work even though the income of individual male Chinese workers tends to be lower. Also, young adult Chinese probably stay at home and contribute to the income of the family longer than the non-Chinese. If one were to engage in a cost-benefit analysis. one should weigh the larger family income against the larger labor input, together with living within the family with one's parents for a longer period. How one should measure the cost against the benefit in terms of family income I am not about to draw any conclusion. That is a question for the anthropologist which I am not.

Another significant point is that there is very strong evidence that the larger family income contributed by the larger number of income earners within the Chinese family is to a considerable degree the contribution of female Chinese workers. Sitll another point is that the Chinese female attended school longer. Until the 1960's, when the occupational pattern of Chinese-Americans was altered by the large influx of new immigrants, the ratio of professional and technical workers was higher among Chinese females than among the males. In short, the Chinese female stayed at school longer, was better educated, and worked more frequently as professionals. Perhaps the explanation was that the more able young men tended to be called upon to help their fathers in business. If they had any drive, they would go into business. Women, on the other hand, stayed in school and went into technical professions. Much of this, however, has changed after the Second World War, especially in the 1960's.

The postwar shift in occupational pattern has become quite pronounced in recent years. In the 1970 census, among male employed Chinese the category of professional and technical workers constitutes more than 28% of the total. This is a phenomenally large proportion. While "professional and technical workers" are now the largest group among male Chinese employed workers, "administrators, officials and proprietors," used to constitute the largest group. In other words, the small business man or proprietor was the predominate group. Now it is the professional and technical worker that constitutes the largest group.

Another point to be noted is that if you compare the male Chinese with all males in the U.S., differentiation with respect to their respective occupations is higher than that for females. The occupational pattern is much closer between the female Chinese and her non-Chinese neighbors. Moreover, if indexes of differentiation or integration are constructed, you would find that in comparing Chinese-Americans with all Americans, the degree of integration is much greater, and the degree of differentiation much smaller, in terms of income than in terms of occupation. This seems to suggest that while the Chinese go into certain well-paid occupations, they seem to shun other occupations. One finds both concentration and avoidance. Is it because they were excluded from certain occupations? Or is it because they thought they would be excluded and therefore never even tried to go into them? What has in fact happened? This is something that deserves looking into. There are many more questions that are worth examining. Hopefully more social scientists will take up the challenge.

Comment: John W. Stevens, *University of California, Los Angeles*

#12 – CALIFORNIA'S CHINESE PIONEERS

Chairman: Chingwah Lee, *Chinese Historical Society of America*

A PIONEER CHINESE FAMILY

By

MRS. WM. Z. L. SUNG

(Capsule of 100 years of the Nam Art Soo Hoo family)

1. EARLY LIFE – NAM ART SOO-HOO (1855-1920)

One hundred years ago, in 1875, a young man of the village of "Lung-How-Lay" (Dragon's Tongue) in Hoy Ping, Canton, China, stirred by the glowing tales of returning friends from "The Big City" in the "Gold Mountain" of the "Beautiful Country" (Mei-Kuo) decided that he, too, would go to this new land of hopes and promise.

He had studied in the village school till he was 13, then had gone on to study in Canton City till he was 18. Being the eldest of 3 sons, his mother chose a wife for him, a comely young woman of 16, the daughter of a Chinese doctor in a neighboring village.

Although it was difficult to leave the young wife and small precious son, and, having had his chance to study, he had to think of educating his 2 younger brothers, since his father had died and left him head of the family now.

"I shall return and take you both back with me if it is a friendly and good land," he said to the grieving young wife.

2. THE FIRST TRIP TO "GOLD MOUNTAIN," 1875

He left on a many-masted sailing ship, and after a long and rough voyage, finally arrived at the "Big City" in "Gold Mountain."

It was truly a new land, very different from the disciplined acres of rice fields, farm lands and numerous villages of industrious hard-working farmers – and the bustling city of Canton, where he had spent years of study – was so very different from this frontier city, built on the coastal hills of California, filled with adventurous and rough folk who had come from many different lands to search for gold, fortune, or a new life – as well as those who came down from the mountains past Sacramento, the "Second City" – men who came back to civilization to replenish supplies and to recklessly spend their gold nuggets and bags of gold dust which they had so laboriously earned with sweat, toil and hardship.

He found that the Chinese were oppressed and persecuted by many of the white men who took advantage of their quiet good nature, stoicism, and willingness to work under the most difficult conditions. They took on the most menial and unwanted jobs – such as house servants, cook, laundry, farm, factory and railroad laborers. Some few opened small shops to supply their countrymen with the necessities of life – but it was a dreary life of hard and unceasing labor full of danger and catastrophy, sweating and toiling with pick-ax and shovel through rugged mountain passes and under broiling desert suns. Their earnings were pitifully small, although they earned much money for their bosses.

Nam Art found work in a cigar factory—most distasteful to him, but after each long day's work, he went to evening school to study English—in which he soon became proficient, and was able to help many of his fellow-workers. He also joined the "Cheng-tao-hui," the "Righteous Path Society"—and studied the Christian faith—so much like his Chinese faith, which taught humanity and compassion for his fellow-man. He became a Christian, and was baptized, later visiting and working as a missionary travelling from town to town, up and down California, wherever he was called.

After four years, in 1879, he returned to China as a missionary. He was ordained a minister at the Canton Presbyterian Church at Yun-Tsai-Tai Gai, next to Bork Tsai Hospital. Here he taught, preached, ministered to his congregation and was happy with his family, composed of 3 daughters and a son.

3. SECOND TRIP TO "MEI-KUO," THE "BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY"

In 1885, there was an urgent call for him to go back to work with the Chinese church in California.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 debarred all Chinese from entering the U.S.A. except teachers, students, diplomats, travellers, and business men, but he came back as a teacher and missionary. In 1896 he sent for his family, who came on the Clipper Ship, the *Argonaut* which was becalmed for 6 weeks half way across the Pacific.

Nam Art was a dedicated preacher and teacher and became the first ordained Chinese pastor of the Presbyterian Church on Stockton Street under the supervision of the Rev. Mr. Condit and later the Rev. Mr. John Laughlin. The church was a beautiful little Gothic church, with stained glass windows, Art visited and preached in missions as he had done before, going to Oakland, Alameda, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Sacramento, Marysville, Santa Rosa and Monterey, sometimes bringing back delicious fruit, abalone and other luxuries. And how fortunate I was to be taken on some of these trips, being of the right size and age of some of the Chinese children in different towns!

Riding on the trains with red-plush seats, tasting the delicious fruit in different areas, I was made much of wherever we went, for everyone loved Papa. Sometimes he would take me to his office at the church, next to the office of Miss Donaldina Cameron, with whom he went on trips to rescue girls who had been sold into slavery. Miss Cameron was a dedicated young missionary from New Zealand, who took over Miss Culbertson's job in the Home for Girls on Sacramento Street. Papa went to Miss Cameron's Home to teach the girls English as well as Chinese and they all came to Sunday service, the older ones singing in the choir and teaching Sunday School.

Grant Avenue was then Dupont Gai, and we were always taken to see the gaily bedecked and furbished shops and see the fireworks at New Year's, and to visit friends and relatives. We dressed in our new garments, and wearing the apron with a big pocket, to hold the red neatly wrapped New Year packets, sometimes containing gold nuggets or gold coins. This was the festival when all debts were cleared and everyone started the New Year afresh.

There were outings to Golden Gate Park in horse-drawn trolleys or carriages, and we all went with the church groups to sweep the graves at the Ching Ming Festival in the Spring.

4. The Fire and Earthquake of 1906

The earth shuddered and split wide open for several feet along the San Andreas fault for the length of 240 miles from southern California almost to the border of Oregon State on April 18, 1906—at 5 o'clock in the morning, two days after my birthday. More than 700 people perished, some of them belonging to Papa's congregation. Our home was solidly built, and fortunately not on top of the fault, but was dynamited to help stop the spread of the raging fire, for the water mains were broken by the quake and there was no water to put out the fire, which was finally stopped at Van Ness Avenue after several days.

Papa divided us into 5 different groups of neighbors and families, with one English speaking member heading each group, with instructions to try to get to the waterfront and cross over the Bay to Oakland where it was said to be safe — away from the burning city. My second sister, aged 14, had charge of our group, with a brother, myself, and a tall, heavy, boundfooted neighbor lady with two small children, walking painfully and slowly, with her heavy hand on my sister's shoulder. We fell behind and were lost from the main group, since we had to find our slow way detouring often from the cracks in the ground, and trying to avoid the fire which we felt hot on our faces even though from several blocks distant. We saw many people crushed and mangled, and tried to extricate them. There were many houses with one or two sides gone—but the furniture inside still there, before being consumed by the fire, like open doll-houses—but there was the *terrible* feeling of being lost and forgotten, for it was three days before we were able to get on a ferry boat to cross the Bay. We finally reached a refugee camp on the shore of Lake Merritt in Oakland where a search party sent out by Papa found us. How these memories return when we smell hot coffee with Carnation Milk and doughnuts given to us at different places by the Red Cross and Salvation Army units, God bless them! Mama wept for joy when we were finally brought to her, as she thought we might have been kidnapped or fallen into the cracks of the fire and perished, as happened to so many other children — never found again.

My big brother was studying at Stanford University, 30 miles away, and as soon as he heard of the havoc and fire in San Francisco, walked all the way back, since the railroad bed was cracked and split in many places, and the rails twisted and buckled. He found Papa, who sent him back to the house to bring out the insurance papers, house deed and birth certificates, but by that time, martial law had been declared because of the many looters, and no one was allowed to go into any houses, so we lost everything, but were grateful that we were all alive and safe.

5. A HAPPY CHILDHOOD IN MARIN COUNTY

After living in Oakland for 2 years (1906-1908), Papa moved us to San Rafael, where he had a mission. We lived in a little white cottage with yellow baby roses covering the porch, and we roamed the hills on week-ends and holidays, picking wild flowers and wild strawberries, mushroom and watercress—fragrant and luscious. San Rafael was a friendly town and there was not as much racial discrimination and prejudice as in some other places.

Living in the county seat of Marin, there were the annual festivals with community barbecues, colorful parades, and, of course, the greased pig and tug-of-war which we loved to watch. We were not rich, but Papa would always take us to the circus when it came to town with the mellow calliope, the huge, plodding silent elephants, the snarling tigers and lions, and the thrilling horse events, trapeze artists, spangles and glitter.

One night, in particular, Papa took us to the hills in Sausalito to see Halley's Comet, as it streaked across the clear and peaceful heavens, studded with stars and constellations. He taught us to love Nature, and all its creatures, great and small. He taught us to rejoice in books and music, and I can remember how our home was always open to friends and relatives, sharing whatever we had with them.

He taught us that education was very important, and that we must keep the best of the old culture, retained through thousands of years, and learn the best of the new, in a changing world; to be modest and unassuming, but never to forget that we were Chinese and have a heritage to cherish. He taught us to do our very best in whatever we undertook, and he wrote to me every week when I was away at school in the Mid-west, homesick and full of tears. "There is nothing in the world you cannot do if you make up your mind to do it." "We must keep our faith in God and in ourselves." Máma purposely did not learn to *speak* English, although she could understand everything. Since we saw only American children in school, she did not want us to forget our Chinese language.

These were the memories that sustained us in other times and other lands, in spite of flood, drought, famine, wars and pestilence – and when we thought the whole world was tumbling down around our ears.

6. THE CHUNG SAI YAT PO

one of the first Chinese newspapers in the USA

Mr. Ng Poon Chew told me in 1929 that Papa had taught him his first Chinese and English in Canton in 1879, and had encouraged him to come to Mei-Kuo in 1881. He was a very bright lad, and later a very brilliant young man and fine scholar. On arrival in the U.S. he worked as a house servant and spent all his spare time studying English, doing so well that he soon entered the San Francisco Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in 1892. He was Papa's assistant Chinese pastor in San Francisco till 1894, when he went to Los Angeles to be full time pastor at the church there. He started a weekly newspaper there—but since there were more Chinese people in San Francisco he returned in 1900—and with the aid of members of the Presbyterian Church, the daily Chung Sai Yat Po was begun. He went on many (86) speaking tours throughout the country as he was a gifted and fluent speaker, and Papa would be editor, writer and translator. We were often allowed to visit the newspaper plant to watch the men at work getting out the next day's paper, fascinated by the typesetting and printing presses. I still love the smell of ink, and the printed page.

After the fire and earthquake, when we were living in San Rafael, Papa would commute daily to write for the newspaper and to teach. He had given up work at the San Francisco church, but did voluntary work among the missions. He went back to newspaper work and teaching to support his family – for by this time, Big Sister was attending the University of California in Berkeley, and Papa was being *much* criticized for allowing a *daughter* to go to college. He had also been injured during his commuting days from San Rafael by a white man kicking him in the leg and knocking him to the ground to get his place in line for the ferry. There was still much persecution of, and prejudice against the Chinese. Papa never recovered from that cruelty, being lame and suffering from that injury till his death in 1920.

We of this generation are fortunate to live in this country, for in no other country in the world is there as much freedom – though often it has become *license* – and after too much permissiveness and neglect in the rearing of the young. What we must learn and try to do in this third hundred years is to temper discipline with humanity, from the beginning of life, so that later on there will be habits of decency, honor, truth and justice as our built-in foundations. All else will fall in place.

7. Papa and Mama Had 11 Children, *5 boys and 6 girls*

The boys all studied engineering, and the girls became teachers.

2nd generation:

1st son, Civil Engineering, Stanford 1908, University of Illinois 1911, then for trainee to Baldwin Locomotive Works in Pennsylvania. Returned to China 1911 – built railroads bridges, hospitals and roads.

2nd son, studied Mechanical Engineering, University of California-Berkeley.

3rd son, University of California, Mining Engineering (Master's) 1925, killed mining accident, 1925.

4th son, University of California-Berkeley, M.I.T. Naval Architect, retired (shipbuilding) hulls.

5th son, Radio and Electronics, Berkeley and Mare Island, retired. Patron of San Francisco Zoo—safaris, lectures to schools and Senior Citizen Groups. 1972-San Francisco Man of the Year.

1st daughter, University of California-Berkeley (Master's) 1915, Education, Lingnam, Dean, Nankai.

2nd daughter, graduated Sargent School, Physical Education, Cambridge, Mass. 1918. Returned to China, taught until her death 1925. A generation ahead of he rtime on PE.
3rd daughter, University of California-Berkeley, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Master's), English Literature, returned to China, Dean of Women and taught at Lingnam, Nankai, Yenching St. John's, Shanghai.
4th daughter, University of California and Obertin 1921, taught Chemistry, Biology, St. John's, Shanghai.
5th daughter, Armstrong Business College, legal secretary. Returned to China, taught till death 1974.
6th daughter, University of California, Ann Arbor, Michigan, then Radio.

2nd generation, Sons-in-law:

1. Teacher, Naukai and Honan, 15 years, government service, retired.
2. Early film industry.
3. Education, Teacher, Dean, President, St. John's, Shanghai, Priest, refugee relief worker.
4. Chemist, with Wolverine, retired.

3rd generation, grandchildren of the Rev. Nam Art Soo-Hoo:

Peter's children
1 Surgeon
1 Pediatrician
1 Biochemist
1 Engineer

Clara's
1 Neuro Surgeon
Cleveland Clinic
1 Internal Medicine
1 Psychiatrist
Mansie's
1 Construction and
Mining Engineer

Lily's
1 Pathologist
1 Federal Employee,
Dept. of Interior
1 Registered Nurse
1 Medical Technologist
1 Nutritionist
1 Air Force, Navigator

3rd generation, Sons-in-law:

1. Priest 2. Research Chemist 3. Mechanical Engineer 4. Computer Programmer

The Rev. Nam Art Soo-Hoo's *great grandchildren* — all still in school:

1. Eldest, Junior, Mechanical Engineering, U.C. Berkeley
2. Sophomore, U.C. Davis, Veterinary Medicine
3. Freshman, Claremont Men's College, Education, in Physics and Mathematics
4. Freshman, Feather River College, Forestry
5. Freshman, U.C. Berkeley, Music and Education

Altogether 15 great-grandchildren, youngest being 8½ years.
Next one for college (1976) wants to study Medicine.
Years of Teaching and Missionary work: 285

1. Papa — 45 years (1875-1920) died 1920
2. Clara — 45 years (1915-1960) died 1960
3. Pauline — 6 years (1919-1925) died 1925 Shanghai
4. Nettie — 56 years (1919-1975) still teaching
5. Lily — 28 years (1921-1949)
6. Mansie — 42 years (1933-1974) died 1974
7. Z. L. (son-in-law) — 48 years (1919-1967) died 1967
8. Philip (son-in-law) — 15 years (1915-1930)

Total: 285 years

THE CHINESE TEMPLES OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

By

George M. Williams, Daniel D. Wong, Brenda L. Wong

(The following is the narrative of a multi-media presentation which involved three screens, six slide projectors with mixers and programmer, and a tape recorder with a synchronizer. In all almost 250 slides are presented in the fifteen minute program. The program was developed as a plea for the preservation of these temples.)

Chinese Americans of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th generations are heirs to the Taoist temples of Northern California. However, many of these Chinese have seemingly adopted the values and much of the culture of the white majority. Many Chinese-Americans have little, if any, knowledge of the religious philosophies or traditions of their ancestors.

When the Chinese first arrived in Northern California, they sought riches in the gold fields. They dreamed of returning to China as Mandarins. But the difference between the dream and reality was enormous. They were taxed as foreign miners and soon prevented from mining the best claims. The hostile Western frontier drew the losers of many cultures, principally Northern Europeans, who sought in a virgin land opportunity to make their fortunes. These Northern Europeans were often loners, distrustful of group effort because they were victimized by power and disadvantaged by the Old World Social Order. Now they generally had only their own resources to depend on. High on their list of values was rugged individualism.

Early Chinese laborers, bound together by a language and customs that were strange to the Western frontier, often banned together in working groups usually organized by the Chinese Six Companies. These companies, run by San Francisco Chinese merchants, often contracted with white owners to provide Chinese laborers. The banning together of the Chinese became an excuse for whites to adopt discriminatory practices in order to keep the Chinese in their place, to secure an economic advantage for hard working individuals (whites), and to establish a new pecking order in the new world. The fear that the Chinese groups would gather in for themselves the wealth that was so hard to find drove the Northern European descendents to institute laws and taxes that penalized the Chinese in their search for opportunity and wealth.

How curious it is to see the cycle of oppression turn! So many Americans were descendants of those who had been persecuted for being different – not a pigmentation difference but customs and religious practices and beliefs. But to be sons of the oppressed seems not to make one morally superior, capable of breaking the cycle of oppression. Instead they seized the opportunity to rise from the weak and lowly and grasp power, both scapegoating the previously oppressed Chinese and assigning disabilities to them. The Chinese were pictured as immoral, disease-ridden, and carriers of evil habits. These were excuses for their violent removal.

The masses had often been exploited in China and many religious texts direct the peasant to submit passively. But there is real subtlety here. One submits as water submits to the confines of its containers. Yet the patient strength of water wears away the mightiest mountain or the strongest oppressor. So says a verse in the *Tao Te Ching:* "The highest excellence is like water. The excellence of water appears in its benefiting all things, and in its occupying, without striving, the low place which all men dislike. Hence, its way is near to that of the Tao."

But even oppression was viewed as an improper balance in the universe. When *Yin* and *Yang* are in harmony, all is well, all is right. And since everything is composed of positive and negative forces, lack of balance is the cause of evil.

It was to the transcendent reminder of these insights that Chinese peasant laborers returned, when the New World they encountered in the mining camps and the frontier towns became latently or manifestly oppressive. The temple symbolized a place where the Chinese laborer was a human being. It was a part of a culture which gave wholeness and meaning to existence. The temple symbolized harmony, balance and justice.

As one steps over the threshold evil is left outside. Evil beings cannot even see into its holy sanctuary. Inside are sources of positive power who care and who generate within the heart of the worshiper the courage to go back out in an unbalanced world and work patiently while following the *Tao*. The strength of the path is in a long-suffering weakness – but eventual victory. And that victory is symbolized in a surprising way in the Temples of Northern California. They contain the presence of the God of War, Kwan Yu. He does not teach the worshipers in America to oppose discrimination with the sword. He stands as the cosmic symbol that oppression of the followers of the *Tao* will end, that balance will be restored, that good fortune and happiness will eventually come to those who do not use negative force to attain life's ends. These Chinese laborers were taught to be men of peace and patience. Their deep psychological insight is that the means one uses affects the results. A patient pursuit of wealth along a road of suffering will chasten one's character and purify it. Thus, being disadvantaged is tragic only when one loses sight of its cosmic significance. Besides, Kwan Yu will right the wrong by punishing the evil doers in the life to come.

But time has changed both the temples and the way Chinese view themselves. The "anti-Chinese" violence in the Northern California counties drove these "foreigners" south to Marysville, Sacramento, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Slowly some cultural assimilation occurred. But what happened to the Taoist Temples that dotted the Northern California landscape? Many were too impermanent to last – especially since a few were deliberately burned down by hostile neighbors. But the temples or their remnants survive in various forms in Chico, Oroville, Weaverville, Mendocino, and Marysville. What has happened to such central institutions of the Chinese community during this century of contact? What happens to them when their cultural, social, and religious functions have lost much of their meaning? They were once sanctuaries for a persecuted people in troubled times. They were places to conduct business affairs, write letters home, begin celebrations, and worship.

The Taoist Temple in Chico faces the most immediate crisis. It has become principally the George Orberg Collection. Stored for years in a warehouse and defiled by the elements, its remnants were restored briefly for exhibit in the Anthropology Museum at California State University, Chico. They have since returned to storage and an uncertain future. Given to George Orberg for safekeeping by the last of the Chinese community, these religious symbols could slip into the hands of private collectors.

Chico could easily become a symbol of Chinese-American history. Its Chinese settlements began in 1865. Contributions to agriculture, commerce and industry were substantial. But the most obvious remains of the 3,000 Chinese-Americans who once lived in the two neighborhoods are the stone fences and a few gravestones. Chico seems to have been the first community to produce a terrorist organization which scapegoated the Chinese foreigners as the cause of the economic depression of the 1870's. The terror of the Order of the Caucasians during the 1870's reduced the Chinese community to a handful. Despite heroic efforts by General Bidwell and a Committee of the Hundred, Chicoans who stood against this terrorism, the Order of the Caucasians achieved its purpose locally – "to drive Mongolians" from America.

The Oroville Temple represents another level of concern. It became a city museum, saved from ruin by the efforts of the Oroville Women's Community Club and the community as a whole. The Chinese in Oroville suffered from the terror reeked by the Order of the Caucasians so that few families remain today. The temple complex also contains a Buddhist Temple and the family shrine room of the Chans.

Despite Oroville's efforts to save these relics, it could easily become a dead object for antiquarians. What is needed to enliven the experience in order to capture some of the power and mystery of this place?

The Weaverville temple, Won Lim Miao, had the honor of becoming a State Park. The exhibits are informative, if the curious pause long enough to learn of the temple's place in the life of the Chinese in this old mining town. Mr. and Mrs. Moon Lee still reside in Weaverville and lead in Bomb Day festivities each summer. Museum-like qualities permeate the temple atmosphere. A railing has been built in the central section of the temple to keep furnishings out of arm's reach of visitors. Once a hub of ceremonial activity and an excuse for social gatherings for California Chinese, the temple is quietly becoming an object of curiosity and a misunderstood symbol of the strangeness of those "heathen Chinee."

Mendocino's Chinese Temple is a private, family temple. Its rugged simplicity fits perfectly with the simplicity of the one behind the 10,000 things. That one is the *Tao*.

Within remain the articles of worship ready when needed for communion with the holy. But when no more Chinese-Americans wish to worship here — then what? Will its curios decorate the interest centers of rich collectors? Or will another use be found which flows from the Taoist way?

The Bok Kai Temple at Marysville remains in the hands of its Chinese Community. Joe Waugh Kim is the sole surviving trustee and custodian of the temple.

The Bok Kai Temple is still a place of worship for about ten Chinese families living in the area. An active place of worship, it attracts Vietnamese, Thai and other visiting worshipers. Roasted pig, boiled chicken, and Chinese pastry are offered to ancestors. Yarrow sticks rattle, as prayers for good fortune are chanted.

A long table stands before the main altar. It holds a brass tablet with descriptions of the seven deities of the temple. Among the deities are Kuan Yin, Goddess of Mercy; Kuan Kung, God of War; Yuk Fung, Secretary of State; Hoo Gee, God of Earth; Ts'ai Shen, God of Wealth. The principal deity, Bok Kai, is called upon to divert flood waters and relieve drought.

Chinese from many parts of Northern California travel to Marysville to celebrate Bomb Day which falls on the second day of the second month of the Chinese calendar. An all weekend community celebration, it begins with a parade and ends with a community dance. Traditional bombs are fired by a mortar into the sky, falling supposedly into the hands of those most deserving of good luck for the coming year. Dozens of young men scramble for the coveted rings.

Area Chinese look at the temple with pride, especially on Bomb Day. The temple is the vehicle through which they gather and socialize, plan activities, and find common goals with others in their ethnic group.

Like other churches in America, part of the Bok Kai Temple's vitality lies in the social life and community concern that it generates. Year after year the temple's worshiping population declines. What will happen when there are no worshipers left? Will the death of the religious use of the temples mean an end of their service to mankind?

Will a new relevance be seen for these places which have stood against exploitation — or as the Chinese used to say, improper balance in the Universe? Will they then become part of each of our heritages and, when understood, provide a new source of inspiration to enrich our lives?

Comment: S. Michael Opper, *California State University, Fresno*

3:00- 3:15 p.m. Break.

3:15- 4:00 p.m.	Highlight Reports from Seminar Sessions.
4:00- 5:00 p.m.	Open Forum, with Advisory Panel.
5:00- 6:00 p.m.	Break.
6:00- 7:00 p.m.	Social Period, Empress of China, 838 Grant Ave., 5th Flr.
7:00- 9:00 p.m.	Superior Court Judge Harry W. Low, M. C. Announcements and Introductions Remarks: Thomas W. Chinn, *President*. **Banquet.** Chinese Musical Number. Wilma Pang, playing the *Cheng* and singing *Gentle Flowing Stream,* a folk tune from Yunnan Province, China. Introduction of Speaker: Judge Harry W. Low.

THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE IN CALIFORNIA

By

MARCH FONG EU

I want to thank [California Superior Court Judge Harry Low] for his kind remarks.

I don't know exactly why it is, but it seems that whenever Chinese get together, particularly in Northern California, and whenever Harry or I is a featured guest, which is quite often in both cases, we have the respective honor to introduce one another.

And in the old days when I was a new member of a county school board and Harry was an aspiring attorney, Harry used to introduce me as a promising educator and elected official who might one day even be a member of a county board of supervisors.

And I used to introduce Harry as a promising attorney who might one day even be a member of the House of Delegates of the California Bar Association, and who knows . . . might even win a case before the State or Federal Supreme Courts.

Time went on, as did the events we attended, and I got accustomed to bragging about Harry as an outstanding member of the San Francisco Municipal Court Bench who might one day even be the Presiding Judge of the Municipal Court Bench.

And Harry would refer to me as a promising member of the California Legislature who might one day even be a Committee Chairman.

And time went on, as did the events we attended, and I got accustomed to bragging about Harry as an outstanding member of the San Francisco Superior Court Bench who might one day even be the Presiding Judge of the Superior Court Bench.

And Harry would refer to me as a Committee Chairman in the California Legislature who might one day even be a Secretary of State.

When I was inaugurated as Secretary of State, one of the judges who swore me in was the Presiding Judge of the Superior Court of San Francisco.

And I introduced him as a future member of the California Supreme Court.

Harry and I have been introducing one another since we were born, and neither of us will admit who came first.

But I can tell you that my father bought his father's hand laundry in the agricultural community of Oakdale, California . . . and that the Presiding Judge of the Superior Court of San Francisco and California's Secretary of State were both born in the same room of that laundry . . . at different times, of course . . . and that Oakdale and California haven't been the same since.

I think that there's a bit of California history in that circumstance and I think that circumstance speaks to the history of the Chinese in the United States.

I cannot tell you just how delighted I am to have this opportunity to participate in what I hope and expect will itself be an historic event in the effort to resurrect, document, and chronicle the history of the Chinese in the United States.

It is a rare condition when historians are themselves part of the history they record.

And I doubt that there is any other ethnic group in the United States or any other country for that matter which can speak of unspeakable adversity in relatively recent times . . . from the point of view of judges, lawyers, doctors, professors, and secretaries of state.

There is absolutely no ethnic group in the United States or any other country which can talk about its past with such a proud but not arrogant confidence in the future as we do here tonight, and as many of you have done over the past two days.

We are unique, to be sure.

And we are uniquely American.

We are the only ethnic group which has had the peculiar fortune to be the named object of an entire article in a state or federal constitution outlining a list of rights which we are *not* to enjoy.

We are the only ethnic group which in less than seven decades has had various of its members hanged and honored in the streets of the same city.

And with undeniable assurance, I say that we are the only ethnic group in this country which can dine pleasantly in a restaurant on a street a few blocks away from two streets which are named after governors whose only claim to popular acclaim was their unfulfilled promise to rid California and the nation of the Chinese 'whose filth poured in from Asia.'

As Americans, we have simply outlived the usefulness of Governor Haight and Governor Kearny.

As Chinese-Americans, we now have custody of the documents which record that history.

We now have custody of the personal papers of Governor Haight and Governor Kearny.

We have, through the scholastic efforts of this Society and the personal experience of our brothers and sisters, the future in our bones.

And without at all pretending or trying to be corny about it, I have to say that we are not merely talking about Chinese in America . . . we are talking about America as it has tempered and shaped the relatively few Chinese who inhabit its continent.

I have examined the program for this conference and I note with great interest the subjects of the seminars conducted.

As a politician who is asked to speak approximately forty times per year on the experience of the Chinese in the United States or California, I can tell you that I will personally benefit from the transcripts of the seminars.

I have a canned speech on the subject which several of you have already heard at least once, but which I can no longer give, not because it isn't interesting, but because it has fallen prey to what politicians fear most about their canned speeches . . . it was published . . . It was published last Tuesday word for word . . . in the leading Japanese newspaper of Los Angeles.

So I will greatly appreciate the new material you will give me but I would also hope you will appreciate some of the new material I can give you . . . not as a Chinese necessarily, but as California's Secretary of State and the constitutional keeper of the Archives.

I sit on a powder keg of information about the Chinese in this state and nation, a treasury of our always colorful and often ignominious history.

From an examination of your program, I note a certain reliance on local and Federal source materials.

I want to tell you that I have primary materials staring you right in the face . . . I have visual, graphic, constitutional, corporate, statutory documents which beg examination and interpretation . . . all bearing on the experience of the Chinese in the United States and California.

I want to tell you something about what we have, solicit your use of it, and more or less technically tell you what our archives is all about.

Quite simply, the records in the state archives are filed and catalogued under the names of the departments or offices that created them.

It is our practice, in conformance with basic archival principles, to maintain an agency's records in the exact order in which the agency itself maintained them for administrative use.

Cataloguing in the archives is in accordance with the state government's organizational structure—by departments, divisions, bureaus, offices; and in accordance with operational records units—by record groups, series, files.

Thus for information on a Chinese doctor in the state archives, you must turn to the records of the State Board of Medical Examiners.

For information on a Chinese manicurist or a Chinese hairdresser or cosmetician, the records of the Board of Cosmetology must be examined.

For information on a Chinese corporation, the records that come to the archives from the corporate division of the Secretary of State must be examined.

Articles of incorporation provided an example of a record group whose physical arrangement serves as a finding aid, and the incorporation articles are filed alphabetically by corporate name.

The title of many corporation folders, for instance, begins with the word "Chinese."

Examples are the:

Chinese Benevolent Association of Fresno (1897)
Chinese Carpenters Mutual and Protective Association (S.F., 1880)
Chinese Educational Film Co. (S.F., 1925)
Chinese Empire Reform Association (S.F., 1899)
Chinese Express Company (S.F., 1911)
Chinese Free Press Publishing Co. (S.F., 1904)
Chinese Library and Social Club (S.F., 1896)
Chinese Miners Club (S.F., 1900)
Chinese Native Sons of the Golden West (S.F., 1893)

Moving down the file drawers a way, you can find the articles of incorporation of the Foo Chung Benevolent Association (S.F., 1897) and the Look Yick Hing Association (L.A., 1897); the Wong Investment Company (S.F., 1912) and the Yee Toy Yuen Mining and Development Company (S.F., 1911).

In the filed articles of literally hundreds of Chinese-American corporations is documentation of Chinese economic, social, and cultural activity and of Chinese participation in the mainstream of our economic life.

A second major record group in the state archives with a name index is the great collection of case files of the Supreme Court of California. Two alphabetical indexes of these case files are available; one of plaintiffs, the other of defendants.

A glance at the index of the names of plaintiffs beginning with the letter "A" shows that between the year 1853 and 1915 no fewer than 55 cases reached the California Supreme Court in which the name of the party who brought the action began with the letters "Ah"—Ah Chow, Ah Chung, Ah Fong, Ah Hing, Ah Sing, etc.

The majority of the 55 cases were actions petitioning for writs of habeas corpus, which means that those cases played their part in the long fight waged against racial discrimination and for civil liberties.

Chinese were litigants in thousands of the Supreme Court cases documented in the archives.

Such records throw significant light on the life and times of many California Chinese.

A third large record group with a name index illustrates a basic character of the holdings of the state archives, which is that archival records contain material on *all* aspects of society, good and bad, fortunate and unfortunate, alike.

The archival collections record the acts of the state's people as they actually were, and not as seen under a halo of reconstructed hindsight.

The record group referred to here is that known as the Governor's prison papers, for which an alphabetical name index is available.

Turning to the letter "A," we find listed no fewer than 112 files of persons committed to prison whose names begin with the letters "Ah"—ranging from Ah Bin to Ah Yek.

The case files contain trial transcripts or other information on the details and circumstances of the violations of the law.

They are full of social history and rich in human stories.

Other records in the archives contain physical descriptions and albums of photographs of those unfortunate members of society.

The records of the state legislature in the archives document discriminations long practiced by the dominant society against the Chinese.

The procession of bills and resolutions of session after session, the flow of petitions from the people, are enumerated in the indexes of the printed *journals* of the Legislature.

For the content of these documents one must refer to the archives which has the original bills, resolutions, and petitions from 1849 down to the present time.

These records form a vast library of opinions and attitudes, of likes and dislikes, of interests and motives and positions, which together formed the social and economic climate in which the California Chinese made our way.

The state archives has a record of the name, age, occupation, and place of birth of every Chinese resident in California in the years 1860 and 1880.

These are the U.S. Census enumerations which are immensely useful for demographic studies of the California Chinese as well as for many other kinds of social and economic research.

The enumerations are arranged by county.

Researchers who know the difficulties of using census records on microfilm will be glad to know that the enumerations in the state archives are all in the original manuscript form.

The record groups and series of many other state departments contain material on the California Chinese which is indicated whenever a California Chinese had had some dealing with a state departmental program.

What I am saying is that we have primary documents in our archives . . . we have the great and glorious Constitution of 1879 which forbids Chinese from being employed except in punishment for a crime . . . we have the whole series of debates which led to that Constitution . . . and we have the statutory consequences of that Constitution.

I want to alert you to what we have and recommend that you use it.

I would also say that for the first time in the history of our state . . . I am using it . . . to the extent that next February, which happens to fall at about the same time as Chinese New Year, the state archives will open an exhibit featuring the contribution of the Chinese to the development of California and the nation.

Displayed for the first time will be the reality and not the myth of the transcontinental railroad, the reality and not the myth of the sardine industry off Monterey, the reality and not the myth of Eureka and the salmon industry, the reality and not the myth of Weaverville, Angel's Camp, Clapboard Gulch, Hangtown, Jackass Hill, Six-Bit Gulch, Igo and Ono.

What we are talking about by talking about our history in this country is justice . . . justice not necessarily promised . . . but justice redeemed . . . a type of justice which in our experience which we hope to document will be a type of justice which will assure forever that no Americans among us will be subjected to the circumstances our predecessors endured in what we believed and still believe to be the finest country on earth.

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1975

8:30- 9:00 a.m. Registration, Announcements, etc.

9:00-10:15 a.m. Liang Cheng, Ambassador to the United States

PORTRAIT OF A CHINESE DIPLOMAT OF THE LAST MANCHU EMPERORS

SIR CHENTUNG LIANG CHENG

Taotai, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.

Basis of Paper Presented by
LO HSIANG-LIN

(A Chinese Lecture, based on this following address by WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL given at the Fourth Annual Dinner (New Series) of the Keechong Society. 8 November 1972. Boston: Boston Athenaeum 1974)

When I returned from Europe in 1936 and went to the Peabody Museum of Salem I found myself in the midst of the China Trade. On every hand were portraits of ships, shipmasters, Hong merchants, Chinnery drawings, and Chinese oil paintings of Macao, Whampoa anchorage, and the foreign factories at Canton that made this southern Chinese port as vividly familiar as Canaletto made Venice. As I was soon devouring the writings of William C. Hunter and the *Personal Reminiscences* of Captain Bennet Forbes, the partners in Russell and Company became familiar friends. This illusion was heightened whenever I called on Miss Mary B. Forbes at 215 Adams Street in Milton and saw her grandfather's house which preserved so admirably the domestic setting of a China Trade merchant. So it gave me particular delight many years later when Crosby Forbes, who had inherited the house, devised the means for its permanent preservation as a Museum of the American China Trade. I am happy tonight to take part in the fourth annual dinner of the Keechong Society, which continues the tradition begun almost a century ago when present and past members of the firm of Russell & Co. began dining together at the Somerset Club.

When Crosby Forbes asked me to address you some months ago he told me that as my friends Carl Seaburg and Stanley Paterson, authors of the recent biography of Thomas Handasyd Perkins, were to be guests at tonight's dinner, it would be appropriate for me to say something about that Boston merchant, who arrived at Canton as supercargo of a Boston ship in 1789, only five years after the American China Trade began. I have long been fascinated by the career of T. H. Perkins. I have known many of his descendants. Thomas Sully's great portrait of him is a dominating feature in the Boston

Athenaeum, where I have spent more than twenty-six happy years. The Seaburg-Paterson biography is in a sense a product of the Athenaeum, for the authors have long based themselves there. I greatly appreciate their having dedicated their book to me. But there is nothing that I could add to their admirable treatment of T. H. Perkins himself. The best that I can do is to summarize a case in historical detection into which I was accidentally led last year by one of Perkins's descendants.

Americans too frequently form stereotypes of foreign nations from the least favored representatives who have immigrated to the United States in large numbers. The overwhelming majority of Chinese from the region of Canton who have settled here have been laborers, restaurant keepers, and laundrymen, while most of the Chinese gentlemen and scholars that we have known have come from northern provinces. Yet New England shipmasters and merchants found the Hong merchants of Canton to be singularly valued friends and allies. Russell Sturgis is quoted by Samuel Eliot Morison as saying that "he never knew better gentlemen than the Hong merchants." I propose tonight to tell you of my search for a Cantonese gentleman of the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early years of this one who was the diplomatic representative in many countries of the last Manchu Emperors, and whose life will perhaps make us understand more clearly the quality of the early Hong merchants.

One evening in June 1971 a great-granddaughter of Thomas Handasyd Perkins who was spending some weeks in Andover told me of her surprise in finding on a wall in the Holmes Library at Phillips Academy the portrait of a Chinese graduate, Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, whom she, as a small child, had first seen in Washington, more than sixty years ago. While Chinese Minister to the United States, he had come to dine with her mother, Mabel Hunt Slater. She remembered vividly, her mother's French maid Victoire inquiring whether, when helping the Chinese Minister on with his overcoat, she should put his pigtail inside or out! She had seen him only one other time. This was in 1914 when she and her mother and sister were traveling round the world. While they were in Hong Kong, Sir Chentung Liang Cheng came to their hotel and took them in a steam launch with canvas top with scalloped borders to his waterside home some distance away. On arrival they passed through a gray brick wall into a courtyard where his mother, wife, and various children were assembled to greet them. Their host then ceremoniously produced and unrolled a great scroll of calligraphy executed for the Dowager Empress, and given by her to her minister, which was a great treasure of the household. Fifty-seven years later there was a Proustian quality to encountering the portrait of this long-forgotten and long-dead Chinese diplomat on the wall of a New England boarding school. We wondered who on earth this man was, and why his portrait was in the Holmes Library.

Quick recourse to Claude M. Fuess's history of the school indicated that he was a member of the Andover class of 1882, who had distinguished himself in a baseball game against Exeter in 1881. It appeared that he had done some remarkable batting as center fielder for the Andover team. Although greeted with derisive cries of "Washee, washee; chinkee go back benchee," the Chinese student hit the first ball pitched for a three-bagger. In the next inning he again knocked a two-base hit, scoring another runner; his two long hits contributed materially to Andover winning the game by a score of 13 to 5. Dr. Fuess recalled how twenty-two years later this inspired batter returned to Andover as Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, Chinese Minister to the United States, to give the principal address on the 125th anniversary of the school! In it Sir Chentung recalled the famous game of 1881, thus:

> When the train arrived with the victorious nine, the whole school turned out to welcome them with torchlights, a brass band, and an omnibus drawn by enthusiastic students with a long rope. Even Rome could not have received Caesar with greater enthusiasm and pride when he returned from his famous campaigns in triumph.

This accounted readily enough for the portrait in Andover, but gave no hint as to how this eminent baseball player turned diplomat had become a British knight. A reference to the 1911 edition of *Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage* quickly disclosed that he had been created an Honorary Knight Commander of Michael and George in 1897 when he was in England as Secretary to the Special Chinese Embassy to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Celebrations. Furthermore in 1909 he had become an Honorary Knight Commander of the Victorian Order when he returned to London as a member of the Chinese Privy Council and of a Chinese Naval Commission in England.

At this point my wife recalled that ten years before we had stopped in Charlotte, Vermont, at a gift shop conducted by a pleasant Chinese silversmith, who had mentioned that his grandfather had been a graduate of Phillips Academy and Chinese Minister to the United States. A few days later when we were at our house in Starksboro we went to Charlotte, where we found Guy Cheng's Gift Shop, and its proprietor, who proved indeed to be the grandson of Sir Chentung Liang Cheng. Guy Cheng (whose name before Americanization was Cheng Chao-chia) told us that his father, Cheng Huan, a native of Tientsin, was the son of a comprador in the shipping firm of Butterfield and Squire. Cheng Huan was sent to Phillips Academy, where he was in the class of 1903, and went often to Washington as a protégé disciple of the Chinese Minister, whose daughter he eventually married. Although Cheng Huan hankered to go to West Point, Sir Chentung thought poorly of his becoming a soldier, so he went instead to the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst. He returned after graduation to China and died in Hong Kong in 1968.

Guy Cheng's presence in Vermont was the result of a curious chain of circumstances. Born in Tientsin in 1912, he came to the United States in

1935 as a member of the Chinese tennis team competing for the Davis Cup. Wishing to stay here, he got an athletic scholarship at Tulane University, where he was graduated in 1939, and subsequently did two years of graduate work. Tiring of constant tennis coaching, he got a job as counselor in a boys' camp on Lake Champlain in North Hero, Vermont. Through friendships acquired then he decided to stay in this beautiful part of Vermont. He became a United States citizen in 1948 through a special Act of Congress.

Guy Cheng's mother, the daughter of Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, died in 1921 after the birth of her ninth child. The eighth child, Cheng Chao-min, an aviator trained at Hangchow, was sent to Phoenix, Arizona, during World War II for further instruction. His picture appeared on the cover of *Life* for 4 May 1912, which contained a story on the training of Chinese aviation cadets. He became a Lieutenant in the Chinese Air Force and was killed in combat at the very end of the war.

Another brother, Lot Cheng, who was admitted to the United States on Guy Cheng's financial guarantees, is now assistant vice president for loans at the Burlington Savings Bank. Thus my wife's long memory led us to discover two grandsons of Sir Chentung Liang Cheng within a few miles of our Vermont house. Through the kindness of Guy Cheng, I entered into correspondence with his uncle, Liang Sai-wa, who was living in Hong Kong, and with Mrs. Frederick O. Ebeling in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who had long been a friend of the Liang family. From their letters, from grubbing in the indexes of books in the Boston Athenaeum, and from information kindly furnished by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan and by the Ambassador of the Republic of China in Washintgon, I have gradually pieced together an incomplete picture of the life of Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, which I offer you tonight.

First of all (although known at Andover as Pi Yuk) his formal adult name was Liang Cheng, the family name, Liang, coming first in traditional Chinese fashion. Chentung was a "courtesy name," which when knighted in 1897 he placed before his family name. Had he not done so, English speaking friends would have addressed him as Sir Liang, which would have been as grating to the ears as to speak of the wartime Prime Minister as Sir Churchill.

He was born on 2 October 1867 in a village near Canton, Whampoa on the delta of the Pearl River, opposite which American ships had anchored from the beginning of the China Trade. Later in life he built a house with a large garden for his mother in this village, and used to stay there with her whenever he was free to do so. Thus the place that Thomas Handasyd Perkins, supercargo of the *Astrea*, first saw on 18 September 1789, was visited by his granddaughter and two great-granddaughters a century and a quarter later as guests of a former Chinese Minister to the United States.

As I suggested earlier, although most Chinese looked upon foreigners as inconsequential devils, the Hong merchants of Canton often proved to be valued friends to American shipmasters and merchants. Seemingly the Liang family of Whampoa gave foreign devils more than the benefit of the doubt, for Liang Cheng's mother let him be sent to the United States when only eleven as one of the first groups of students sent abroad by the Manchu Government to seek Western knowledge in a foreign country. This Chinese Educational Mission, founded by Yung Wing of the Yale class of 1854, with headquarters in Hartford, Connecticut, undertook, with the support of the Chinese Government to send thirty students a year to be educated in the United States. The first group of boys, whose ages ranged from ten to sixteen, were sent in 1872. It was hoped that the enterprise might continue for fifteen years.

Liang Cheng entered the Prep (lowest) class in the Classical Department at Phillips Academy in 1878, and with a Chinese roommate lived with the faculty family of Mr. McCurdy in a large brick house next to the Academy office. In 1930 the venerable classics master George T. Eaton recalled how fifty years earlier the boys "ran in and out of our house with joy to us all." Unfortunately in 1881 the Chinese Government called home all the students in the United States through the Chinese Educational Mission, fearing that they were becoming too Americanized. Although Liang Cheng was thus unable to graduate with his classmates in 1882 and go on to college in this country, he had already absorbed enough Western ideas to become a conservative leader in the reform movements that were then beginning to develop in China.

On arriving home he became a junior official in the Ministry of State (Tsung Li Yah Muen). His first assignment abroad was in Madrid, but in April 1886 he arrived in Washington as an attaché on the Staff of Chang Yin-huan (1837-1900), Minister to the United States of America, Peru, and Spain. This cultivated diplomat, who spent much of his life in the study of Western civilization, and because of it was executed by the antiforeign Boxers in 1900, was, it appears, the mentor of the young Liang Cheng. He too was a native of the district of Canton. One of his tasks during his three years in Washington was the negotiation of a treaty in 1888 concerning the restriction of immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States. Chang Yin-huan returned to Peking in 1890, where he held various court posts. In December 1894, when China had suffered defeat in the war with Japan, Chang Yin-huan and Shao Yu-lien, Governor of Taiwan, were sent to Japan as joint ambassadors to inquire about terms of peace. Liang Cheng accompanied them as second secretary of this special commission.

When Chang went to England as the Chinese Special Ambassador for the Diamond Jubilee in 1897, he took with him his younger protégé, who in the course of the visit received the knighthood that thenceforth caused him to be known as Sir Chentung Liang Cheng. The party arrived in June 1897. On the seventeenth they visited the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich; on the twenty-second they were at St. Paul's when Queen Victoria went there in procession for the Thanksgiving Service. Two days later they attended a State Evening

Reception at Buckingham Palace, and four days after that the Queen's Garden Party. Early in July Ambassador Chang went off to Paris and St. Petersburg, although it is not clear whether or not Sir Chentung Liang Cheng accompanied him, for *The Times* of 10 July 1897 notes that "several members of the suite of the Chinese Special Ambassador" had attended a garden party given by Baroness Burdett-Coutts at Holly Lodge, Highgate, on a day when Ambassador Chang was already in St. Petersburg. The Ambassador returned to London on the twenty-seventh, and sailed with his party for New York a few days later in the steamship *St. Paul.*

Sir Chentung Liang Cheng accompanied Prince Chuan to Berlin, presumably in 1898, to tender China's apology to the Kaiser for the killing of German subjects in Shantung province. On arrival, the Chinese delegation was kept waiting for days before they were granted an audience; moreover the Kaiser insisted that they should kow-tou before him as a sign of obedience and humiliation. Liang Cheng, First Secretary of the delegation, who sensed the malice intended for his master by Wilhelm II, strongly objected. He argued firmly that since German envoys, when they presented themselves before the Chinese throne, would not and did not kow-tou, Prince Chuan would not do so, but would pay the highest respect to the Kaiser in the manner commonly practiced in the Imperial German Court. With patient diplomatic address, Sir Chentung finally won the battle. The German Foreign Office and the press were much impressed by the Chinese stand. Finally the Kaiser gave up his whim. Thus Sir Chentung saved his country from humiliation, and incidentally made a name for himself in European capitals. From that moment he was highly respected as an able diplomat.

He survived the turbulence of the Boxer rising, during which Chang Yin-huan lost his life. When the rebellion was over, the Dowager Empress realized the folly of adhering to the traditional view that all foreigners were devils, and placed increasing confidence in the enlightened mandarins, whether they were Chinese or Manchus. The execution of Chang Yin-huan was much regretted; his disciple Liang Cheng gradually gained favor at court.

At that time two daughters of a Manchu noble, Yu-kan, who had been Chinese Ambassador in Paris, were appointed ladies-in-waiting to the Dowager Empress. As their mother was French and they had been brought up in France, they were well versed in both French and English, and their services, as well as those of Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, were in great demand whenever Her Imperial Highness personally received foreign dignitaries. As Sir Chentung was made a tutor of the Imperial house, giving English lessons to several princes, he became very friendly with these ladies-in-waiting. Knowing that he was a widower, the Dowager Empress turned match maker. Although he became very fond of one of the girls, he would not let himself fall in love without obtaining the consent of his mother. The old lady disapproved of the marriage, expressing the wish that if her son were to marry again, she would like to have a girl of Cantonese race and land as her daughter-in-law. So the romance with Princess Der-lin, who later wrote *Two Years in the Forbidden City* (published in French, English, and Chinese) came to an end.

Nevertheless Sir Chentung continued to enjoy the confidence of the Dowager Empress. In 1901-1902 he was again in Europe as first secretary of a special mission to Berlin and London. On 12 July 1902, when forty-four years old, he was commissioned by royal decree to be Chinese Minister to the United States, Peru, and Spain, the post that his mentor Chang Yin-huan had earlier filled. It had been held since 1897 by Wu T'ing-fang (1842-1922), a lawyer educated in England.

Alfred E. Stearns, long Headmaster of Phillips Academy, who knew Sir Chentung well in later life, recalled his "thrilling stories of political life and peril in his oriental empire. As progressives in their time, he and his American-educated companions early fell under the suspicion of the conservative Manchu Court. At times their lives were seriously endangered; and his final appointment to the responsible position of representative of his country to the United States was a personal and well-deserved tribute of the astute old Dowager Empress to his notable loyalty and integrity. That he never betrayed this confidence was well attested by his masterly work during his official life in America."

Having arrived in Washington, he settled in the Chinese Legation in Du Pont Circle, on 5 April 1903, and remained in the United States in this post until 3 July 1907. In the autumn of 1903 he was relieved of his duties in Peru, and on 8 November 1903 was made concurrently Minister to Mexico, where he presented his letters of credence in April 1904. Seemingly he never assumed any duties in Peru or Spain, but made himself a very welcome resident of the District of Columbia.

Within a few weeks of Sir Chentung's arrival in Washington he went to Andover to deliver on 16 June 1903 the address on the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of Phillips Academy. Alfred Stearns, only recently appointed Headmaster, long remembered "the speaker's table over on that side of the gymnasium, with the dragon flag of China, for they used the dragon then, spread over the wall, and the Chinese Minister and his bedecked attendants all in flowing and brilliant robes at that table." Sir Chentung gracefully recalled his undergraduate days, his boyish fear and admiration for Professors Coy, Comstock, and MacCurdy, but especially his three-bagger with two men on bases made against Exeter. In the same month he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Amherst College.

As he had a fondness for New England, he took his family to Amherst for the summer of 1905, renting the house of Dr. Goodell, the president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. His next-door neighbor, Frank E. Whitman, secretary of the Amherst class of 1885, caused Sir Chentung to be made an honorary member of that class during their twentieth reunion. Honorary degrees go frequently to eminent persons, but honorary membership in a college class implies unusual gifts of personal attractiveness, especially when the class is a tightly knit New England college and the honorary member is Chinese. In 1906 Sir Chentung Liang Cheng also received an LL.D. from Yale University.

Honors also came from the Imperial court, for on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of the Dowager Empress in 1905, she sent him the scroll of calligraphy that has been previously mentioned. It was 7 feet long and 4 feet wide, written on vermillion paper in Chinese black ink On the left were characters enumerating the full title of the recipent; on the right were eight titles, consisting of two characters each, used by Her Majesty on such important state occasions as coronations and royal birthdays, the best known of which was Tsyr Shi, meaning Benevolent Prosperous. In the center was the huge character Shouh, for longevity, which was part of one of the eight titles; above it was stamped an impression of Her Majesty's Imperial seal. Although the huge character was supposed to have been personally written by the Dowager, it may, like the titles, have been the work of members of the Han-Lin-Yuen, the Royal Academy.

Throughout his four years in Washington Sir Chentung was constantly concerned with the welfare of Chinese students in the United States. On 19 June 1907, shortly before the end of his mission, he returned to Andover for the 129th commencement exercises. He was once more a guest of honor, for at the alumni dinner Chinese and American flags decorated the Borden Gymnasium, and he was given a loving cup. One side bore the American and Chinese flags crossed and the other the seal of Phillips Academy with the inscription: "Presented to Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, Andover '82, at his 25th anniversary by the alumni of Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., as a token of their esteem and appreciation." At the dinner he told the alumni according to *The Phillips Bulletin*, "that he felt under great obligation to the school as his three years at Andover had been of great advantage to him in the four years of his official life in this country. He related how the incident of his making the three-base hit in the Andover-Exeter ball game in 1881, which won the contest for Andover, affected his standing in Washington. He said that not long after he came here President Roosevelt told him that an Andover student he met in one of his hunting trips in the West had informed him that he thought the new Chinese minister was the Chinese boy that played on the Andover nine in the '80's and won a championship game by a hit. 'When I assured the President that I was the same person,' said Sir Liang, from that moment the relations between President Roosevelt and myself became ten-fold stronger and closer."

Henry Adams in a letter to Elizabeth Cameron describing one of Theodore Roosevelt's diplomatic receptions at the White House in January 1904 noted that "the Chinese Minister in marvelous dragons and jewels embraced me tenderly." The Russo-Japanese War was brewing. A few days later, writing from his house in Lafayette Square, Adams noted: "my friend Liang, the

Chinese Minister, came in, and after looking at my Ming potiches which he knows little about, he talked war for an hour." On 6 February, the day that Japan severed diplomatic relations with Russia, Sir Chentung again sat in Henry Adams's library and "talked war" for an hour, expressing his alarm about China.

Having studied at Andover himself a quarter of a century before, Sir Chentung was greatly concerned with bringing Chinese students to the United States, and made them feel very much at home at the Legation in Washington. It was typical that he dissuaded his future son-in-law, Cheng Huan of the Andover class of 1903, from becoming a soldier and persuaded him instead to study agriculture. The Chinese Minister's life was complicated by United States restrictions on the importation of coolie labor and by American ill use of the Chinese already resident on the Pacific coast, which led in turn to anti-American feeling in China and a widespread Chinese boycott of American goods. Elihu Root as Secretary of State had frequent exchanges with the Chinese Minister, whom he characterized to his biographer, Philip C. Jessup, as "a very intelligent and perspicacious man." Jessup speaks of Sir Chentung's "brilliant notes" to Root; I shall quote as an example a paragraph from this biography.

> The Minister was on firm ground and was playing his hand adroitly. Root did not answer at once but on February 14th, 1906, he sent the Minister a very stiff note protesting against a proclamation alleged to have been issued by the Chinese Consul General in San Francisco in pursuance of instructions from his Government. The proclamation stated that the Chinese Government had never prohibited or obstructed the boycott which was a protest against the American exclusion laws. Root declared that this position was directly contrary to the assurances given by the Chinese Government; he demanded that the proclamation be revoked or disavowed and that the Consul-General be properly disciplined. Sir Chentung Liang Cheng replied on the 24th with another epistle of suave brilliancy which one can not read at a dispassionate distance without exclaiming "Touché!" He disavowed any knowledge of the proclamation but agreed to investigate. "I might content myself with the foregoing reply, but for the peculiar tenor of your note. It is a grave act to convey to a friendly power an intimation of duplicity on its part, and this is seldom done except upon the most conclusive evidence and under serious provocation. It is a deep grief to me that even a suspicion of such conduct is entertained by one whose acts have been marked by such cordial good will to my country, and whose intercourse with me has been characterized by such great friendship and sincerity. To one who has attained such high eminence in his profession and has devoted his life to a study of the force and value of evidence, it may seem almost impertinent in me to suggest that his own Department should contain

facts which would vindicate my Government from the heinous offence implied in your note."

When Sir Chentung Liang Cheng left his post in Washington on 3 July 1907, he was succeeded by his predecessor Wu T'ing-fang, who had been an active promoter of the Chinese boycott against American goods. This substitution gave pleasure neither to the President or the Secretary of State, although Theodore Roosevelt wrote thus to Elihu Root on 26 September 1907:

> My feeling would be strongly that we ought not to object to Wu. He is a bad old Chink and if he had his way he would put us all to the heavy death or do something equally unpleasant with us but we cannot expect to get a Minister like the one that has just gone, and the loss is far more China's than ours; while I do not object to any Chinaman showing a feeling that he would like to retaliate now and then for insolence to the Chinese.

During his four years in the United States Sir Chentung Liang Cheng had taken important steps toward the redemption of the Canton-Hankow Railway from the United States, and had paved the way for the remission by the United States of a thirteen-million-dollar claim on the Boxer indemnity. The money thus obtained was used for varying the education of the Chinese by providing scholarships for Chinese students in America; it was also instrumental in the founding of the Tsing Hua University in Peking. A letter that Sir Chentung received from J. S. Tait on his departure from Washington admirably sums up the feeling that he inspired. "As Plenipotentiary, you have exalted the Courtesy of Nations into a sentiment of brotherhood and kinship; and have demonstrated the value of the personal equation in binding them more closely together in the bond of a permanent friendship."

The August 1907 issue of *The Phillips Bulletin* published among its alumni notes: "1882 – Chentung Liang Cheng, lately Chinese Minister at Washington, known in his school days as Pi Yuk Liang, has become president of the board of foreign affairs and comptroller general of Maritime customs at Pekin." Also for a short time after his return to China, Sir Chentung Liang Cheng served as chief manager of the Canton-Hankow Railway. In 1909 he accompanied Prince Tsai-huan, brother of the Regent and uncle of the Emperor of China, and Admiral Sah Chen-ping to Europe as a member of a special Naval Commission that spent three weeks inspecting dockyards and shipyards in England, before making similar visits in France, Germany, and Russia. Subsequently he was sent to Berlin as Chinese Ambassador, presenting his credentials on 15 July 1910. A document courteously supplied me by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China states that in 1911 he was transferred to France, yet in 1912 he still seems to have been in Berlin for the Andover master George T. Eaton then paid a call of homage on him there. Sir Chentung served as the Chinese representative at the international convention on the prohibition of opium at the Hague, which was signed on 23 January 1912.

This was Sir Chentung Liang Cheng's last service to his country, for upon the abdication of the Manchu Emperor H'suantung and the proclamation of a Republic of China on 12 February 1912, he found himself in a difficult and trying situation. As Alfred Stearns wrote: "With the straightforwardness that had always been characteristic of him he sought and eventually secured his recall. When I last saw him in Hong Kong, shortly after his return from Berlin, he had retired from political life, unable to bring himself to trust the radical program of political reform advocated by the younger and enthusiastic leaders of the newly established republic. A progressive in his day, he had been left a conservative by the swiftly moving political current of his later life. His loyalty to his country never wavered, but like many of the best students of Chinese history, he believed his country ready for a constitutional monarchy, but not then for a republic."

Although frequently approached by the republican government, he never again accepted any public office. He returned to Whampoa to the house that he had built for his mother, and lived quietly in retirement for the remaining years of his life. In addition to his two British knighthoods, he had received high decorations from France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Austria, Russia, and Japan. Yet what he treasured most was the scroll of calligraphy from the Dowager Empress, whom he had so ably served overseas, that he showed to his American visitors in 1914.

He was already ill when he returned to China, for Alfred Stearns, who saw him soon after he left Berlin noted: "He had lost greatly in weight, and the lines bore evidence of keen suffering; but there was no lack of interest in his old school and the friends of his American school days. At the banquet which he and his friend and schoolmate, C. L. Chow, generously provided for me the night before I sailed from Hong Kong he was the same delightful host I had found him several years before when it was my good fortune to pass two days with him as his guest at the Chinese Legation in Washington." By 1917 he was confined to his bed. Minor operations in China and a major one in Japan did not arrest the cancer from which he died on 10 February 1918 when only just entering his sixties. The estate at Whampoa and its contents having long since been confiscated, Sir Chentung's widow and family have for many years been living in Hong Kong. His family still preserves there the scroll of calligraphy.

10:15-10:30 a.m. Break.

10:30-11:30 a.m.

#13 – EDUCATION

Chairman: Albert H. Yee, *California State University, Long Beach*

OPPORTUNITIES IN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR CHINESE-AMERICANS

By

HERBERT K. YEE

Thank you cousin Albert, and members of the conference. I might say that I certainly commend our Chairman, Thomas Chinn and the Executive Board of the Chinese Historical Society for putting on this wonderful program. I was glad that Albert sat me right in the center of the aisle here instead of on the end. I remember when Governor Reagan told me of a conference that he had attended at the Virgin Islands and in introducing the Master of Ceremony went down the line: Governor of Nevada, and Governor of Maryland, and all the way until he was fairly tired and he got to the end and he said, "now I will introduce to you the virgin of Governor's Island." So I'm glad I wasn't caught in that fix.

I bring you greetings from my little town of Sacramento, commonly known as Gheefau. Now, San Francisco is called the big city, "Difau," and certainly we live in a very pleasant area. Some of you, I know, come from New York and from all over the country. I hope you will enjoy spending a little time in our area. We stretch from a beautiful lake up at Lake Tahoe in the high Sierra and it goes down into the Mother-Lode country where gold was found and that's what it is all about. In Chinese we call it "gum san;" gold mountain, and then it goes into the Sacramento area and extends to San Francisco. As I speak this morning, I can think a little bit about my own family, in fact it came out in last week's *Chronicle*, in an article titled, "Fiddletown." My great grandfather settled there and built a little Chinese herb store called the Doc Yee Herb store. So whenever you're in Fiddletown, please drop by this historical monument and visit that little place there. I found his diary and I thought I was going to find a monumental historical document. But opening it, I only found it listed his winnings and earnings in the gambling den across the street.

So that was a disappointment, but at least I know my great grandfather was a human being. He came over with the miners or the railroad builders; he was their Chinese herb doctor. Subsequently his son, who was my grand uncle Dr. Ti Wah Hing, and then my father also took up Chinese herbs; a business carried on for three generations. My father was originally an engineer. He went to Stanford and UC and finally graduated from the University of Michigan in 1921 with a masters degree in 1923. He went back to China and built quite a few railroads. Now Albert mentioned to you a little bit about my background so I will have to speak in that vein because it would be ludicrous for me, not being an educator as I am a practicing dentist in Sacramento for 27 years, to tell a group of educators all about education. So I will speak to you, briefly of course, touching on the various activities that I have been involved in.

For 10 years I have been on the State Board of Dentistry. I have been very privileged to have taken care of former Lieutenant-Governor Reineke, Wilson Riles' family and now Jerry Brown has called me about his particular situation. But anyhow, I've been on the State Board of Dentistry, which licenses all the dentists in the State. We give the examinations. We have about 2,000 dentists coming to the State to take the exam. 500 of them are local graduates, which means from the five dental schools; Loma Linda, UCLA, USC, UC-San Francisco and UOP. We also have about 1,000 dental hygenists. They're the girls who help clean the teeth. In these 10 years, I have been involved with many dental problems. I think the one that was the most delicate and difficult was the foreign dentist problem. In 1967 we had a group of Filipino dentists who wanted to take the examination with further education. During the Cuban crisis we allowed the Cuban dentists to come to our country as with the situation today for the Vietnamese doctors and dentists. We give them the first part of the National Board which is the basic science, that is, biochemistry, anatomy, physiology and etc. If they pass that, then they go to one of our dental schools for two years and they're eligible to take the Board examination. Well, the foreign dentists didn't think that they wanted to do that. With Willy Brown on their side, I had to negotiate the bill for that in 1969 and they have been taking the exam for some five years. I must say that, however, they are lacking in many aspects; however they do have the opportunity and there are some who are very good. I will discuss a little bit further on that. We also have disciplinary hearings against dentists. Fortunately we are very lucky that by the time you get to be a professional man you don't get into too many problems, but nevertheless when you administer to some 20,000 or 24,000 licensees which now include about 17,000 dentists in the State and about 5,000 or 6,000 dental hygenists problems occur. Every year we may have about 30 or 40 that will get into difficult problems; meaning, they may defraud the public, or send for an insurance claim that cannot be justified, or they may be alcoholic, or narcotic, or morally intemperant, or illegally advertise. Then we have in these past few years gone into corporation; that is, dentists can be incorporated and also many other phases. Now I will mention briefly that I also serve on the Council in Dental Education which formulate all the dental programs for the country. We also accredit the school. Each school has to be accredited once every seven years. For six years I've been traveling around the country and I've gone to many schools, and to many towns that I would not normally have gone. It is a unique experience because in many of these areas they've never seen a Chinese. Many times I would look in their roster and say, "Ah, I'm glad to see you have accepted a Chinese by the name of Lowe," and then they would turn red-faced and they would say, "I'm sorry Dr. Yee, Mr. Lowe is a white man or a Caucasian," so I'd say, "get busy with it." On my responsibility as a regent of UOP, I'm very happy that I have this opportunity and most of you who are here locally know that the University of the Pacific is a very fine school. We have twelve colleges and among them are many professional schools; we have a School of Dentistry, a McGeorge College of Law which has 250 in each class. Our School of Dentistry has 100 in each class. We have a School of Pharmacy, a School of Medical Science, which is developing now on Webster and Sacramento Streets, formerly the old Stanford-Lane Hospital. So, those of you who would like to come to one of our schools, please attend our campus in Stockton. We need you as a student; or, encourage your children to come. And then lastly, I'm involved in the California Post-secondary Education which, about three years ago, the legislature mandated in AB770 a commission which supersedes the University of California, State University and College System and the community colleges to coordinate, plan, and help to advise funding of these various segments. Of course, community colleges obtain most of their funding through their local districts. However, if there is any State funding to be made, it must go through our Commission. I just completed the study which sets up the criteria for establishing any new campuses in California.

However, those are the areas that I have been involved in and so I will speak briefly on what is the opportunity for Chinese-Americans in some of these professions that we seek. And certainly in the 70's, unlike the 60's, I think the young people are getting to be a little more settled; the Vietnam war is over, and those that are in school have a meaningful purpose. They want to have a career. They want to find jobs. I think we will find this next period to be a period of rest, not unrest as we had in the '60's. In this next decade we will, of course, find new attitudes, new changes that will encourage young people to go to college. Now, I might say that Chinese and Oriental people or Asiatic people usually, perhaps because of family background, may not need as much encouragement as other ethnic groups in wanting them to find a profession or career. In our School of Dentistry for instance at UOP, for 135 positions we have 3,500 applicants, which means we have to select almost 1 out of 20. Now, it isn't all that bad because what happens to the youngsters is they crisscross. They apply to about six or seven schools. So your encouragement to young persons or to a person who desires a profession must begin early. In high school, they have to want to go to college and want to do well. Now we have a lot of young women applicants; in our last class we accepted 17. And incidentally, in our class at UOP we had 14 Chinese and 6 Japanese so we had 20 and 20 out of 135 is a pretty good percentage when you consider the percentage of Asian-American population in the State of California. We're running over 10% Oriental in our Dental School at UOP. Incidentally, there was a bill by Assemblyman Chacone I think last year, which would mandate that all of our educational systems be relegated back to a percentage of citizen component. That is ethnic balance and that would, of course, if we had more than our percentage at UC, have thrown most of them out of college just to get a racial balance, and of course, I was vehemently against that sort of thing and I'm glad it was dropped. I could apply that to medicine since I'm sure medicine and dentistry and law have the same format. These are very much sought after, including optometry, pharmacy, and veterinary medicine, so that you must have a very good GPA. I'm talking about schools that are professional schools, which usually means two years of college before you go into four years of professional training. In this aspect, our entry class of this year of 75, which just began at UOP Dental School have a grade point average of 3.45. So, we have a cut-off line at 3.2 and you can see the competition. And even among that group with 3.2, we have a thousand young men that we have to sort out to get 135. So you can imagine our task is almost impossible. But I'm happy that in looking at the first page, these are computerized – there are two books, one book is computerized according to the alphabet and the other according to GPA; that in the first page of 40 names I see 6 names that are of Chinese extraction. Of course, I've always gone on the premise that we who are Chinese can compete on the same basis as anyone else. I ask for no favor from our school in that respect. The only area I may ask for is financial assistance; the Chinese have a problem in that area. On that first page there were 6 Chinese; that last one from Stanford was a 3.7 and I made the remark, "what a smart aleck" or something like that. So it shows the tough competition, but I understand, someone tells me, they don't give a "D" in Stanford anymore; so now I don't feel quite as bad because I certainly didn't have that GPA when I went into dental school. Then we have the Dental Admission test; you have to take a test administered by the Council on Dental Education which I used to be on and I just got off this December, and you have to take a test just like MCAP for medicine, and certainly a law test. Then, of course, with certain recommendations you might get into the school. But I would certainly, of course being in the profession, think of it with highest regard; I think it's a good field for young people who have the talent and the ability and the desire and the dedication to go into these health professional fields or in the law, or engineering, or architecture. Now I'm going to give you a few statistics to give you an idea of how we're doing as far as minority and especially as Asians. I'm not going to give you a long list and bore you with a lot of statistics. But I think those of you who live around here will know some of the schools that I'll mention. I'll take up law for instance, at four schools: Hastings, UC-Davis, UCLA and UC-Berkeley. Now, these are very popular schools that are attended by our young people. There are also San Diego and Cal Western and Western State, but in Hastings, for instance, there are 1500 students, total student body. Total minority is 254, 16% are minority or 16.8 and Asian is 7.7. Now in Davis there are 491 students; 171 are minority. So Davis is doing great for a percentage of 34.8% and among the Asian-American we have 13.2. At UCLA, the percentage is not high. There are a thousand law students at UCLA; 199 are minority which gives them a 19%, but Orientals are only 2.5. And Berkeley has 914 and total minority of 249, which gives a 27% and Asian is 7.9. That gives you an idea, so right away Davis is a very good school that has a high enrollment of Oriental or Asian students. Now I'm going to give you the latest figures on the six professions which I have listed: Dentistry, Medicine, Optometry, Pharmacy, Veterinarian Medicine, and Law and this pertains only to the University of California system and this is very current; I just got it from our California Post-Secondary Office yesterday. This is the number of students enrolled at the end of this current year. Now in Dentistry, of course you must remember there are only two dental schools in the University of California, that's UC-Berkeley up here at Parnassus Hill and UCLA down in Los Angeles; there are 81 Asian-American students enrolled in dentistry. Now, UC has about 88 students in each class so they have about 350 students and UCLA has about maybe 450 – so you have about 800 students in the Dental school in the two UC school system and there are 81, so they are running about 10%. In Medicine, there are 153 students in the three or four, I think there are four medical schools – let's see there is Davis, there's UC-Berkeley up here, there's UCLA and there is one other, Irvine campus – so there's about 5 and so there's 153. In Optometry, there's only one Optometry School, and that is UC. In fact there are only two Optometry Schools in the whole State of California. The other one is a private school in Fullerton and the one at UC has about 60 in every class so there are about 250 and there are 33 Orientals enrolled there. In Pharmacy, at UC Pharmacy there are 109. And in Veterinarian medicine there are 12, that's in Davis. In fact there is only one school of Veterinarian medicine in the whole State of California. And of course in Law there are 271 enrolled – for a total of 659. So that's a vast improvement from the enrollment of '72; I used another gage and at that time there we've gained 200 Asians. Now I didn't divide it up between Japanese or Chinese, I just assumed that probably it would be fairly even. At UOP, because we do have two or three members on our faculty that are Chinese and myself as a regent, we're strong in Chinese enrollment. At USC, because of the Japanese faculty there, there is a greater proportion of the Japanese enrolled there. But, that is neither here nor there. Now, these are just a few figures. But that gives you a little idea of the opportunity that is available for these various professional fields. I'm not going to take up anymore time unless there are some questions, I've enjoyed talking with you this morning. I don't know whether I've helped you or not. I've tried to be as brief as I can; I know that there is another speaker after me. I certainly appreciate, Albert, that you invited me to speak here and of course if there is anything that anyone has a question on, I would be happy to answer. Yes, young lady. . . . O.K. – the number? Well I don't have the numbers I just have the percentage. On Hastings, there was 7.7 of the 254, that is minority so you can figure that out from that, and then in Davis there was 171 minority in the Law school. 171 minority out of 491 gives us the 34.8% with 13.2%. This is quite current because this is the American Bar Association report as of January 17, 1975. O.K.? It's about six months behind but this is probably for the last year's class. O.K.? – you want me to give any others or that's pretty good? Someone had a hand up? – Yes. . . . I'm sorry, I haven't gone into that problem. Some of the figures I quoted you did come from that Office of Civil Rights and the HEW and about how they will fare outside after graduation I don't know how far you want to go in medicine actually, you're going to go into Manpower study, I find that Chinese – now we're talking about Chinese-Americans – are quite acceptable as medical doctors. In fact, 60% of my practice is Caucasian, maybe 25% Chinese and the rest is mixed. So, I'm sure in medicine, now – I'm not quite sure how lawyers do in the practice of Law to the public. I'm sure they do pretty well. But, dentistry, architects have done very well, there are several architects in my town – several of them were on the city planning commission, etc. Nurses have done well. Pharmacy – you see many Chinese and Orientals in the Pharmacy School at UC and at UOP. So, of course, the Manpower study shows we're graduating only 14,000 medical doctors and we need 19,000. So, as long as there is a need and you're fairly capable, I'm sure you'll be hired. . . . It's extremely hard to get in. I think there are only three veterinary schools in the entire West. One is in Denver, one is in Washington and the other is at Davis. . . . I know it is very difficult to get in. I understand it is even more difficult to get into a School of Veterinary medicine than medical school because of the number of schools. So that's why I asked the last time I met, I had lunch with Don McNeil who is the director of our California Post-secondary Education, that we should hire a man in our office to do a study of our health schools. And if there is a need in these areas where youngsters can't get into, that's where we should build more schools to accommodate their needs. A lot of our young people are going to Guadalajara. They have an enrollment of 5,000 down there and half of them are from the States.

IS CHINESE-AMERICAN HISTORY LIVING?

By

JOHN LUM

Is Chinese-American History living? For any of us who are peripherally connected with educational or social research techniques, the title of this address is one hell of a mess. What's living to me may not be living to you. There are, to be sure, different levels to what one can mean by the word living. I'll try to hit upon some of these levels. I will make quite a lot of use of what we call unobtrusive measures. Now, unobtrusive is like this. There is a popular art exhibit, for example. You have no counter or anybody taking numbers of people going through. So, you look at the tile on the floor in front of the exhibit and how well is it worn out? Or if you want to know what kind of a drinking city this is and you really don't have a chance to do something very scientific, you go over to the garbage dump and look at all the beer cans and you get some idea. That's an unobtrusive measure. And, of course, we will try to refer often to some other research. First, let's see what we have in balance. On the positive side of the ledger, we know that there are Chinese-American historical societies in a few cities throughout the United States, the most active of which are probably right here in San Francisco's Chinese Historical Society and Honolulu, Hawaii's Chinese History Center. They issue regular bulletins. We know that there is at least 5 or 6 basic texts on the Chinese in America that are relatively commonly used throughout colleges and high schools in the United States. There is an increasing number of short-term courses on the Chinese in America, geared towards the general public. I imagine you can count this Conference as one of them. These courses tend to supplement the more formal semester-long courses being found in more and more colleges and universities throughout the United States. Right here in San Francisco we have as an added thing, TACT; The Association of Chinese Teachers, ESAA Chinese-American History Project. Aside from special editions of journals on the Chinese in America like some past issues of the California Historical Society and the *Journal of Social Issues*, one can, if she or he is so inclined, find numerous references to the Chinese-American activities integrated into articles that are non-Chinese in nature. For example, I get a lot of my jollies skimming through articles in the *California Historical Journal* just to find any references made to Chinese. Sure enough and often enough reference is made to something Chinese. Articles such as, "Industrial Workers of the World and Their Fresno Free Speech Fight," "The Loss of a Reputation;" or "The Image of California in Britain before 1875," a book review on *Factories in the Field: the Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California*, a book review of *The Democratic Party in California Politics — 1880 to 1896;* all of these make references to some aspect of Chinese-American experiences. By the way, all these that I just mentioned were just in one edition. So you can imagine if you looked through all these editions and just quickly skim through them, you'll find enough references. More often than not, every issue of the *California Historical Quarterly* entertains some passing references to things Chinese-American. Then there are many of us who are familiar with "Gum San Haak," the Chinese-American six part series on T.V. There are occasional feature articles on Chinese-American concerns in newspapers such as the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and particularly the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Advertiser*. For example, if I can find it in here, I have quite an article here, well, anyway, I can't find it. But it says, the "Chinese heritage in Hawaii." Every so often, usually about three or four times a year, the Hawaiian newspapers spend entire editions on ethnic heritage. I'm going to come back to this point in a little while and explain what this means by outside system support. Right now, and I didn't even hear it mentioned throughout this conference, but it was in the *San Francisco Examiner* the other day, and it was in yesterday's *San Francisco Progress*, there is a photo exhibit right here at Sutro Library, a half a block away, on the Chinese in America. Lastly of course, is this Conference itself. So you can see that there are quite a lot of things so far as the Chinese in America are concerned. I think then, that there is enough evidence that the Chinese in American history is not dead. It can even be said that it exists. But is existing the same as living? What is the quality of that existence? How living is it? Now let's look at the other side of the ledger.

I have been losing all kinds of things here. I don't know what the problem is. Oh, yes! And we read a statement from the *East-West* a very short while ago by our erstwhile friend, Ling Chi Wang: "Unfortunately few people in this country know the history of the mistreatment of the Chinese in the U.S. Even fewer people realize the welfare and fate of Chinese-Americans are dependent on U.S.-China relations." Right? And there is a great national study called the National Assessment in Educational Progress. The NAEP studies schools in the United States to see how good they are in different topics. There is a statement here in a summary of that. "Most respondents had little knowledge of the contributions of minority groups to American culture in history." Two studies done a few years ago in San Francisco Unified School District, by the way, I happened to have been the author of the studies – but anyway, I wanted some idea of what school children knew about ethnicity. The first year, it wasn't as good of a research design as desired because I threw out questions and children had to respond to them. For example, even though this isn't even necessarily Chinese-American but it's Asian-American and you can get some idea, if they mess up the Asian-Americans, you can be sure they are going to mess up the Chinese-Americans. "Japanese people founded the 21 missions in California." 194 of 663 people missed that question. That's 29.2%, that was third graders; but we'll go on up into the sixth grade. "The Chinese built many railroads in the West" 357 of 663 missed; that's

53.6% missed that question. "Jimmy Wong is a Japanese-American name." 269 of 387 missed that one. That's almost 70%. And in the same question for the sixth graders, "The Chinese built many railroads in the West," 229 out of 387 missed for a 59.1%. Well, two years later, I said let's make this thing a little better. Instead of of throwing questions out, we started a little research thing in which I said, o.k. just tell me anything you know about Asians, anything you know about Blacks, anything you know about and so on and so forth. This is just a sampling, a small thing. This is only in a class of 20, of which two are Asians, and they can't answer about their own group. So from the 18 others, these are all the answers that we got about Asian people:

"Asian people speak funny." That was by a Black student.

"Chinese, (and he spells it "Chines") grownups wear makeup." By a white student.

All right, that's the extent of that one, o.k.?

"Peking is in Japan." 137 of 440 missed that one. All right, well, you can see we're not getting too far in that one. We know about Albert Yee's studies from yesterday's sessions and also in his *Journal of Social Issue* on "Myopic Perceptions" of textbooks, how minorities are ill-treated, particularly the Chinese. All right, now, one thing that interests me, talking about obtrusive and unobtrusive evidence, is coin collecting and stamp collecting, and a whole slate of things coming on with this whole Bicentennial thing. Here's this—"the spirit of '76, proof quality, limited edition medallion in solid sterling silver." There is a picture of the drummers. O.K., we know that's not Asian. And yet these are the things that are supposed to represent America. The first Bicentennial bell, Paul Revere taking a ride – o.k., let's go to the Franklin mint collection. They're really coming out with a whole pile of things. Here is a great one. This collection is "the great people that made up America." They have about 20 faces on a coin over here and I don't see one Asian-looking face. All right? But, to show you there is some hope, and this is a political process, here's some official coin medals of the Indian tribal nations as part of the Bicentennial. You see, Franklin mint again; the Indians have gotten in. All right. But we can go on and I don't think I'm going to go over too much of the Franklin mint. I like junk mail. I think we can also tell from Mayor Alioto's statement a few weeks ago, "Chinatown is not a ghetto." This not only shows that he doesn't understand Chinese-American history, but it shows a few other things. I don't think we'll really go into that at this time. What's very important, a couple of weeks ago in Washington, D.C., the Smithsonian Institution has put up a bicentennial display, a really very fabulous display, of the 200 years of American History. I went through it and they have themes like this. "Immigration"—you don't see anything on Asians. On, "Peoples of America," you don't see anything on Asians, except one little photograph exhibit. There is apparently a Chinese person sitting with a Caucasian wife. His children are sitting around the kitchen table. They have one hot dog on each plate. That's the Chinese-American experience, I guess. In the section on transportation, nothing is mentioned on Asians. On the section on race relations, there is nothing mentioned on Asians. On the section on civil rights, there is nothing mentioned on Asians. On the section in California, there is a small part on the Chinese. The Chinese are known for their foods, art and utensils. And the only time you can see any Asians is in the war and the military section, in which Commodore Perry is shown, and a few other things to do with Japan, but nothing Chinese-American. President Ford's statement on the Vietnamese: "Americans have always welcomed the Asians." Well! There again, you know, Chinese-American history is not living. Stamp collecting. I went through all the stamps that the United States has ever printed: over two thousand. The only Asian faces that you see are one of Chiang Kai Shek and one of Sun Yat Sen. Now, I don't know that we particularly consider those two in Chinese-American history, but if you are a stamp collector, there is nothing hitting you subliminally. You see, we might know a lot of things about Chinese-American history, but how does it hit you? Street signs, park names, the only name I can find in going through the San Francisco street directory is China basin, which I don't think anybody knows about. There is a Lee Avenue, but I don't know if that "Lee" is Chinese. There is a Mark Lane. I don't know if it's named after Him Mark Lai; or . . . there's an old Chinatown Lane. You could see Chinese things in Chinatown, but if you think of Spanish names, all the streets are not just in the mission areas. There are Rivera, Ortega, Santiago. Those things hit you subliminally. You know it. In Hawaii, many streets are named after Hawaiians. You know it at least in Hawaii, because look at the street signs, if you are not illiterate. Now, we notice some subliminal things like Bing Cherries. But for all you know, it could be Dave Bing, the Black baseball player. You have Lums Hot Dogs, but Lum is German, and if Lums Hot Dogs were Chinese, maybe I'd be richer. The only thing I can think of that is subliminal, is, of course, the Lau vs. Nichols Decision, in which many things are called Lau now: Lau Centers, but I will leave that to Karl Li and Ward Sinclair this afternoon. As to the content analysis of newspapers, I have to quickly do this. On another article, which I just have done about the People's Republic of China, when the Chinese want to mention something, they make a concerted effort. In just one edition, for example, I counted 20% of the domestic articles were on the ethnic minorities. And this is the daily newspaper affair. How many times do we ever see this in the United States unless it is on crime or something like this? O.K. So, those are stacking up the things. If one were to draw some conclusions from this picture of evidence, it might be accurate to say that Chinese-American history is not dead. But if one were to put the existence on the ten-point scale from "very dead" to such a thing as "very alive," with very alive being 10, I would put Chinese-American at this stage of history at about two. Chinese-American is dead or non-existent to most people. It is existing to a number of those who have taken upon themselves to do some readings in it – if not even some investigating. It even acquires a life for a few buffs, a few natives and some specialized research centers. Adding to this picture, though, is the fact that most who study it, study it in segregated circumstances. As has been said more than once, the segregation in our curriculum reflects the segregation in our society. This situation reflects a very real dilemma: much of our history is not one of isolating happenings. It's not just the Chinese-American history or just the Irish-American history or just the Jewish-American history. Much of our history has been intertwined. Reality was an integration of events and experiences. Yet our history and our curriculum cited events as if they occurred in isolation. Ethnic history seems more often than not to come in an individual package. All these, of course, are not reflected only in Chinese-American history. All ethnic history, in fact, has this weakness and will never become living if it doesn't reflect the life of reality as it really was and is, an integration and interrelationship of events. Is it a shame that a few instances of integrated reporting that there are, like the numerous scattered articles that I mentioned in *California Historical Quarterly*, are not more widely read. In their rightful haste to balance history, more ethnic historians are busy gathering facts. School persons, however, have not done so much in their busy schedule to make these facts come alive. So-called relevant learning activities are few. Al Sing Yuen's "100 Years Before Me," which has an activities chart which includes at least three educational-psychological principles to make Chinese-American history alive, is about the only learning material on Chinese-Americans that I am really familiar with that inculcates this. Everything else is just a body of knowledge which replaces another body of knowledge. Practically everything else is mere acquisition and enumerating of facts; not the most effective way to learn or to remember or to keep alive. Specifically, there are learning activities, by contrast, which generate much follower interest. For example, as a bicentennial activity, The Polynesian Voyaging Society has engaged in much research to build a sailing vessel like the original ones which first came to Hawaii from Tahiti. Public interest is built up by public relation activities to solicit public funds. Donors all get some title, depending on the size of their donations, and they would be called as a paddler, a sailor, an oarsman, etc. . . . They work, believe me; while I was in elementary Catholic school, we used to spend five dollars on pagan babies. These things work. Hawaii newspapers have always supported the educational system. Special editions on the ethnic heritage are regularly printed throughout the year. Coverage shy away from exotic treatment, but, rather, discuss topics rather naturally. School children contribute to some of these editions. There is in Hawaii a so-called non-system support to school learning activities. In the Palau Islands, out in the Mariannas, all history projects by school-aged children are corrected by the Palauan elders for veracity of facts and the collecting of Palauan language. History and language is seen as integrated learning experiences. Applying some learning principles to Chinese-American history, we'll try to look at what is happening to us. A statement about something is not the same as experiencing it. We have a lot of information in our heads as a result of hearing statements about Chinese-American experiences. This is one kind of knowledge. Yet we may relate to that knowledge very shallowly or even not at all. In order to bring knowledge to a more conscious level, passive learning experiences must give way to more advanced techniques. Classroom techniques such as discovery, solution, role-playing, repetitions, all must be more utilized if Chinese history is to become more alive. The principles underlining such techniques do not have to be limited only to the classroom. They should be applied wherever and whenever possible, which eventually brings us more to the topic of resource allocations than it does to instruction. Put in another way: it can be said that there are two major levels of learning, the cognitive and the affective, with the cognitive having to do with knowing and the affective having to do with the feeling, in addition to knowing. What is the situation as applied to Chinese-American history? On the cognitive or knowledge level, there are quite a lot of historical facts known, most of which, stem from secondary sources, that is, facts stemming from other than basic sources. There seems to be precious little new findings, although our archival session last Thursday and March Fong's talk last night at the banquet, show that primary sources are existent. Additionally, despite the still goodly amount of knowledge of Chinese-American history, precious little of it is developed into any theory, let alone coherent theory. Stanford Lyman is the only person I know that has any real theory on Chinese-American history. The theory he's building is going to make these facts come alive. Merely hashing a body of facts is not in itself a theory. Speaking of theories, I can, probably to your annoyance, give you some theory on why there is so little theory you can find in Chinese-American history. Basically, it is because most of us are not social-science oriented. We are not so oriented because our past social environment, which included generous doses of Waspish racism imposed upon us, forced us into areas of endeavors that left us so little time and talent for social skills. Anyway, let us mention something about the affective level of learning. How much Chinese-American history is absorbed by the reading of Chinese-American literature, since it is by literature that one empathizes? You can answer this by asking yourselves what Chinese-American literature is there? Of the few that there are, how many are even read?

Since I have so far picked on educators and researchers, let me say something about the Chinese Historical Society of America here in San Francisco. Nothing personal, of course. Is the Chinese Historical Society continuously linked to a university, a school, or a bilingual project such as the Hawaii Chinese History Center is? Does the Chinese Historical Society of America have, say, a travelling photo exhibit to popularize Chinese-American experiences? By the same token I haven't let schools and educators off the hook yet. Have educators themselves come up with any bright ideas for linkages with organizations such as the Chinese Historical Society of America, and by this, I don't mean ripping them off for freebies.

To tie this discussion together with some ideas I have about resources allocations, call it politics in its broadest sense, if you will, I would like to refer to a few pages in an article I have just written about bilingualism in the People's Republic of China:

> As with many other foreign countries, education in the People's Republic of China is more centralized than it is in the United States. Although not entirely clear, the educational-political process seems to follow a pattern similar to the following descriptions. Every province, municipality, and social system, in this case, the schools, has a revolutionary committee. These committees insure that Communist Party thoughts and politics are carried out. These committees have various sub-divisions, among which, is education. For this discussion, you might throw in the word "history" instead of education. The committees attempt to coordinate one aspect of life with another. Education, for example, would be in line with agriculture, health, factory work, welfare, etc. This centralization ensures that China's educational systems being open prove that open systems do not necessarily breed innumerable alternatives that cannot be dealt with effectively. If anything, the wide openness of China's educational systems makes it virtually impossible for deviancy to sneak in. There are just too many places where the systems are open and visible to those in and out of those systems.
>
> Besides just being open, much outside or non-system support is given to education so that adults can "feel" for the students. For example, Putonghua and English, which most students are required to study, are broadcast over local stations. Adult support and empathy of what students undergo, then, are enhanced. In political jargon, all of these activities blur the line of distinction at the border separating the system from its environment.

All of this systems discussion is not without a historical perspective. One has only to visit any of the many historical exhibitions that are currently being popularized to sense why China's educational systems are so open. To rid itself of centuries of internal and foreign oppression, China has undergone calculated movement after calculated movement. There was a movement to unify itself in its resistance to Japan, a movement to rid itself of foreign oppression, a movement to strengthen itself economically and agriculturally, and a movement to rid itself of perceived reactionary influences. Every action is hopefully calculated as an integral part of some other action. If it can be controlled, nothing is wasted—time, action, or materials. A web is weaved . . . system analyst's delight.

This historical perspective is kept vivid and alive by weaving it into the school system's curricula. Themes referring to the movements mentioned above, are consistently brought up in language lessons, in social studies, in art, in music, in health, and even in many meetings.

In supportive roles, every province and city seem recently to be operating museums, which, in one way or another, refer to times of past oppression as compared to times of present liberation. Perhaps the best term for all this precious historical perspective, as used by our many hosts and guides throughout our China tour, is the word "popularize." Unlike the varied interpretations many other countries have given this term, there's only one strict meaning in China – all persons are to be involved. Popularization of anything, then, does not come about by chance. A high level decision must first be made etc. . . . and I'll finish up my talk here.

In closing, I would like to stress that I am not suggesting that we all embrace the People's Republic of China. I am, however, suggesting that we look toward the People's Republic of China as a model of how learning principles and political resources allocation are blended to make history vivid and alive. All of us – historical society members, educators, public relations people, motivational research people, socially aware Chinese-Americans, and non-Chinese friends – we all have roles to perform if we are to make Chinese-American history alive; more alive, not only for the sake of bettering human interrelationships. After all, a more living history more ensures that past mistakes and injustices may be prevented from being further perpetuated.

Thank you.

11:30- 1:00 p.m. Lunch.

#14 – EDUCATION *(Continued)*

Chairman: Albert H. Yee, *California State University, Long Beach*

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR CHINESE-AMERICAN PROJECTS

By

WARD SINCLAIR

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand what Federal funds are available for what programs, it is necessary to become knowledgeable about Public Law 93-380, the Education Amendments of 1974. You will find in reviewing this law that there are several sources of funding for certain kinds of activities. On the assumption that Chinese-Americans would be interested in bilingual education, I have prepared a description of the bilingual education programs that appear in this piece of legislation.

This review of Public Law 93-380 shows there are more than a dozen bilingual educational activities mentioned in the Law. It is not the intent here to place any value judgments on these activities, but rather to identify and to describe briefly each one. It is obvious that Congress clearly intended to make special provisions for persons of limited English-speaking ability.

1. *Title I, ESEA*

Under Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), compensatory programs for educationally deprived children will not only continue, but will be expanded to include programs for the children of migrant farmers and fishermen, for handicapped children, and for neglected or delinquent children. In each of these categories there is a disproportionate number of children who have limited English-speaking ability. See Subpart 2, Sections 121, 122, and 123.

2. *Bilingual Education Act*

This act contains the following definitions which are important:

Sec. 703. (a) The following definitions shall apply to the terms used in this title:

(1) The term 'limited English-speaking ability,' when used with reference to an individual, means—

"(A) individuals who were not born in the United States or whose native language is a language other than English, and

"(B) individuals who come from environments where a language other than English is dominant, as further defined by the Commissioner by regulations; and by reason thereof, have difficulty speaking and understanding instruction in the English language.

(2) The term 'native language,' when used with reference to an individual of limited English-speaking ability, means the language normally used by the parents of the child.

(3) The term 'low-income' when used with respect to a family means an annual income for such a family which does not exceed the low annual income determined pursuant to section 103 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

(4) (A) The term 'program of bilingual education' means a program of instruction, designed for children of limited English-speaking ability in elementary or secondary schools, in which, with respect to the years of study to which such program is applicable—

(i) there is instruction given in, and study of, English and, to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system, the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability, and such instruction is given with appreciation for the cultural heritage of such children, and with respect to elementary school instruction, such instruction shall, to the extent necessary, be in all courses or subjects of study which will allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system; and

(ii) the requirements in subparagraphs (B) through (E) of this paragraph and established pursuant to subsection (b) of this section are met.

(B) A program of bilingual education may make provision for the voluntary enrollment to limited degree therein, on a regular basis of children whose language is English, in order that they may acquire an understanding of the cultural heritage of the children of limited English-speaking ability for whom the particular program of bilingual education is designed. In determining eligibility to participate in such programs, priority shall be given to the children whose language is other than English. In no event shall the program be designed for the purpose of teaching a foreign language to English-speaking children.

(C) In such courses or subjects of study as art, music, and physical education, a program of bilingual education shall make provision for the participation of children of limited English-speaking ability in regular classes.

(D) Children enrolled in a program of bilingual education shall, if graded classes are used, be placed, to the extent practicable, in classes with children of approximately the same age and level of educational attainment. If children of significantly varying ages or level of educational attainment are placed in the same class, the program of bilingual education shall seek to insure that each child is provided with instruction which is appropriate for his or her level of educational attainment.

(E) An application for a program of bilingual education shall be developed in consultation with parents of children of limited English-speaking ability, teachers and, where applicable, secondary school students, in the areas to be served, and assurances shall be given in the application that, after the application has been approved under this title, the applicant will provide for participation by a committee composed of, and selected by, such parents, and, in the case of secondary schools, representatives of secondary school students to be served.

The law authorizes a sliding scale for funding which, if fully financed, would more than double the current level of support. Grants are to be provided to local education agencies and institutions of higher education for the establishment, operation, and improvement of bilingual education programs; to be provided for auxiliary and supplementary community educational activities for adult education programs and preschool programs, and to be provided to state education agencies in order that they can give technical assistance and coordinate bilingual education activities.

One-third of the appropriations is to be used for training bilingual teachers. In addition, the National Institute of Education is to receive $5,000,000 annually to carry out a program of research in the field of bilingual education.

Section 723 provides for "not less than 100 fellowships leading to a graduate degree" for the purpose of "preparing individuals to train teachers for programs of bilingual education."

3. ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

The legislation authorizes continued support for these Centers to July 1, 1978. Many funded programs contain a bilingual component.

4. EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The only reference to Bilingualism found in Title II is Section 204 (F) where the Law states emphatically that: "the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs" is deemed an unlawful practice.

5. FEDERAL IMPACT AID PROGRAMS

Title III makes major changes benefiting the Bilingual child in Public Laws 81-815 and 81-874. Section 304 excludes Impacted Aid funds spent by local education agencies for the benefit of Bilingual children when calculating a State's equalization formula. Section 305 includes children who reside on Indian lands when computing eligibility.

6. CONSOLIDATION PROGRAMS – TITLE IV

States which wish to receive grants under this title must submit a State Plan which would have to include the identification of local education agencies where the average per pupil expenditure is higher because of "children from low-income families, children living in sparsely populated areas, and children from families in which English is not the dominant language."

Under the Special Projects Act of Title IV, Section 404, (c) (2) (g), there is authorization for projects for gifted and talented children, including those in bilingual education programs.

7. TITLE VI – PART A – ADULT EDUCATION

Section 607 provides special assistance for *Bilingual Adult Education Programs.* Such projects are to be coordinated with similar activity funded under Title VII of the Vocational Education Act. The instruction is to be given in both English and the native language of the adult. Fifteen percent of the States' Adult Education allotment is to be set aside for Special Adult Education Projects including the development of "methods for educating persons of limited English-ability."

8. TITLE VI – PART B – EDUCATION OF THE HANDICAPPED

Section 614 authorizes a one year only special State entitlement to assist states in initiating, funding, and improving programs and projects for the education of handicapped, preschool, elementary, and secondary students. The law also broadens the screening procedures used in identifying handicapped children by stipulating that "procedures to insure the testing and evaluation materials and procedures utilized for the purposes of classification and placement of handicapped children to be selected and administered so as not to be racially or culturally discriminatory."

9. EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID ACT

This Act continues to support programs designed "(i) to meet the special educational needs of minority group children who are from environments in which a dominant language is other than English for the development of reading, writing, and speaking skills in the English language and their primary language, and (ii) to meet the educational needs of such children and their classmates to understand the history and cultural background of the minority groups of which such children are members."

10. NATIONAL READING IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

Title VII provides expanded support for a national reading program, and specifies in Section 705 that special priority is to be given "schools having large numbers or high percentages of children with reading deficiencies." One of the criteria set forth in the application process stipulates that provision must be made for "the use of Bilingual Education methods and techniques to the extent consistent with the number of elementary school-age children in the area served by a reading program who are of limited English-speaking ability."

11. HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965 – DEVELOPING INSTITUTIONS

Section 832 allows a new institution to become eligible for Federal assistance during its initial operating year, if the Commissioner determines that the institution "will substantially increase higher education for Spanish-speaking people." Previously there had been a three-year waiting period.

12. HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965 – SECTION 833

This Section makes it possible for colleges and universities to receive grants or contracts for the purpose of adding to their curriculum "a program of English language instruction for students of limited English-speaking ability." Such students may also receive "guidance and counseling in order to enable them to pursue a post-secondary education."

13. BILINGUAL VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Section 841 amends the *Vocational Education Act* of 1963 by specifically authorizing Bilingual Vocational Training for persons of limited English-speaking ability; and by adding a new Part J carrying the title "Bilingual Vocational Training." Part J is intended to provide language instruction for skilled and semi-skilled workmen already in the labor market; and "who desire or need training or retraining to achieve year-round employment, adjust to changing manpower needs, expand their range of skills, or advance in employment."

14. LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT

These services have been expanded specifically to include "programs and projects which serve areas with high concentrations of persons of limited English-speaking ability."

SUMMARY

In addition to these specific citations, there are several others which refer directly to the concerns of the Federal government for our Indian population. Several provisions of 93-380 deal with bilingual programs for this particular group. Altogether there are at least twenty references in the Education Amendments of 1974 to bilingual education.

ORGANIZATION OF THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

Now that it is apparent that there are several different provisions for Federal funding of bilingual education programs, the next question is how to apply and compete for these funds. It must be remembered that bilingual education is being used here only as an example, the same principles apply whether you are seeking funds for handicapped children, adult education, ethnic heritage, or whatever. What should be included in such an outline?

First, let me describe the organization of the U.S. Office of Education. Under Dr. Terrell Bell, Commissioner of Education, there are five Bureaus, each headed by a Deputy Commissionr. These Bureaus are the Bureau of School Systems, the Bureau of Post-Secondary Education, the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, the Bureau of the Handicapped, and the Office of Indian Affairs. In addition to this Washington office, there are ten

Regional Offices, each of which is organized in a similar fashion. Each of the Regional Offices is headed by a Regional Commissioner. The Regional equivalent to a Deputy Commissioner in Washington is an Assistant Regional Commissioner.

If you know definitely which Assistant Regional Commissioner is responsible for the program about which you want information, that is the person to call. On the other hand, if you do not know who the proper person might be, your best bet is to call the Office of the Regional Commissioner in the Region where you live who will then direct you to the proper individual. Included with these remarks is a list of the ten Assistant Regional Commissioners for School Systems which gives their addresses, telephone numbers, and the States included in each of the Regions.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the Regional Offices are your quickest and most effective contact for information about programs funded through the Office of Education. It is the responsibility of the Regional Offices to disseminate information and to provide technical assistance to any organization or interested individual who requests it.

How Proposals Get Funded

Too often people look at Federal legislation to see what appears to be the areas in which the Federal government is interested. They then try to devise a program which will enable them to get a piece of the money. A much better way to try to do what you deem important and within your capability is to identify your top priority and then develop an outline rather than a formal proposal. With this outline you can discuss your idea with Federal officials, State or local education personnel, and other colleagues to get their reactions.

There are five points that should be covered in this outline. First, you should include a brief description of your idea. Second, identify the target population which you have in mind and explain why they need the service you are proposing. This is your needs assessment. Third, describe your evaluation procedures. You will have established certain objectives or goals, but how will you know if or when you reach them? Fourth, point out why Federal dollars are needed. Be sure that you are not asking the Federal government to finance an activity which should be the responsibility of a state or local education agency. Finally, attach a budget. In this initial stage the budget does not have to be a complete, itemized, line budget, but you should indicate in broad terms how much money you will need and for how long. Are you seeking funds for six months, an academic year, a calendar year, or what?

This outline should be two to three pages in length plus the budget. When it is completed, contact your Regional Office to find out to whom you should send it.

Assuming that you receive a favorable reply, you will probably be asked to develop a formal proposal according to a set of published guidelines. When this occurs you can be quite certain that many other individuals and groups will also be submitting proposals for funding from the same source.

The guidelines will tell you, in detail, the deadline for submission of your proposal, the information that it must contain, and when the decision to fund or not to fund will be made. The rest is up to you. Since you are now in a national competition, you must prepare the best proposal of which you are capable according to the criteria contained in the guidelines.

After the proposals have been received (if yours does not arrive on time, it will not be considered), they are evaluated by a panel of non-Federal people who score them according to the same criteria that was used in writing them. Next they are ranked in order with the highest score being first and so on. The proposals are funded according to this order starting at the top and going down the list until the money runs out.

CONCLUSION

It must be remembered that often there are several sources of funding for a well-conceived, carefully planned, skillfully documented proposal. Seek and get the advice of the staff of the Regional Offices. Rather than looking to see what funds are available, determine where your interest lies and where you want to try to make an impact. Even though we cannot fund every proposal or idea, we recognize the fact that you are the one who knows what your particular situation is. You know what needs to be done, and now, I hope you know that the Office of Education wants to help.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

ASSISTANT REGIONAL COMMISSIONERS FOR SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Region I: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
Fred J. Wilkinson, ARC for School Systems, John F. Kennedy Federal Building, Government Center, Boston, Massachusetts 02203; (617) 223-6891

Region II: New Jersey, New York, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands
Ward Sinclair, ARC for School Systems, Room 3954, 26 Federal Plaza, New York, New York 10007; (212) 264-4424

Region III: Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia
Edward Cooper, ARC for School Systems, P. O. Box 13716, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101; (215) 597-1037

Region IV: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee
William J. Phillips, ARC for School Systems, 50 Seventh Street, NE, Atlanta, Georgia 30323; (404) 526-3076

Region V: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin
P. Max Gabbert, ARC for School Systems, 300 South Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606; (312) 353-7330

Region VI: Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas
Eric N. Dennard, ARC for School Systems, 1114 Commerce Street, Dallas, Texas 75202; (214) 749-3084

Region VII: Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska
Harold L. Blackburn, ARC for School Systems, 601 East 12th Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64106; (816) 374-2276

Region VIII: Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming
Dr. John Runkel, ARC for School Systems, 1961 Stout Street, Denver, Colorado 80202; (303) 837-3676
Region IX: Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nevada, American Samoa, Guam, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Alfredo Villa, ARC for School Systems, Federal Office Building, 50 Fulton Street, San Francisco, California 94102; (415) 556-7369
Region X: Alaska, Idaho, Oregon, Washington
Allen Apodaca, ARC for School Systems, Arcade Plaza, 1321 Second Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98101; (206) 442-0450

2:00- 2:15 p.m. Break.

2:15- 2:45 p.m.

CURRICULUM KIT FOR UNDERSTANDING CHINESE AMERICANS

By

ANNA WONG

In a multicultural society, it is important for teachers and students to know about the life experiences, contributions and history of the Chinese in America. It is equally important for teachers and students to know about, to understand and to respect the life styles of the Chinese American students in their class and in their school. It is hoped that this Curriculum Kit for Understanding Chinese Americans developed by The Association of Chinese Teachers (TACT)[*] will help to foster this understanding.

In 1974-75, The Association of Chinese Teachers received a one-year grant from the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare under the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) for its proposal entitled: "Project for Cross Cultural Understanding: The Chinese Americans." The goal of the Project was to complement and strengthen the school district's efforts to increase multicultural understanding within the school community (kindergarten to sixth grade).

A major activity of the Project was to develop curriculum materials which focused on contemporary lifestyles of Chinese Americans in San Francisco. Such instructional materials are a necessity because of the lack of appropriate curriculum materials on contemporary Chinese Americans for the implementation of a multi-ethnic instructional program in the San Francisco Unified School District. Furthermore, there is a dearth of materials – audio-visual and literature which are relevant to and reflect the contemporary mores and values of Chinese Americans.

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[*] The Association of Chinese Teachers is a professional educational organization founded in 1969 to address itself to a number of educational problems confronting the school community. Among these were the lack of curriculum materials and staff training on the history, experiences and life styles of Chinese Americans.

This past year, the Project developed the "Curriculum Kit for Understanding Chinese Americans," a multi-media presentation designed for kindergarten to the sixth grade to be used in a total group setting, in small groups or individually. The purpose of the kit is to increase cross cultural understanding by providing information about contemporary Chinese American life styles for all elementary grade students.

The curriculum kit contains the following:

– three sound filmstrips
– recall games
– open-ended task cards
– role playing activities
– pre/post Chinese American Awareness Test
– teacher's guide

The three filmstrips portray life styles of Chinese Americans and are intended to be used as a series in understanding Chinese Americans.

Filmstrip #1, *Getting to Know Carol Low*, shows a Chinese American girl living in the Chinatown/North Beach area of San Francisco. The objective for this filmstrip is to appreciate differences and similarities between the Chinese American and other American lifestyles. Thus, Carol Low, an eight-year old bilingual/bicultural girl is seen participating in a number of activities, those which are common to many people and those which reflect her particular cultural heritage.

Filmstrip #2, *My Friend, Roland Chan*, portrays a Chinese immigrant family living in Chinatown and their difficulties in language, employment and adjustment to a different environment. The objectives of this particular filmstrip are to indicate that Chinese immigrants begin a new life in this country and need to learn new things. In this filmstrip, Roland and his family realize their difficulties and try to resolve them.

Filmstrip #3, *Julie's Report*, emphasizes the contributions of the Chinese in America. The objective of *Julie's Report* is to affirm that the history of Chinese Americans in the United States, along with the history of other ethnic minorities and others are part of American history. Julie Wong, at first unaware of the history of the Chinese in America, learns much about the early accomplishments of the Chinese – in railroad construction, mining, fishing, manufacturing and especially the work of the Chinese laborers in farming which in turn helped California to develop.

The learning activities accompanying the filmstrips are used to further the discussion of the Chinese American experiences as presented in the filmstrips. These activities are designed for learning centers – reading, language arts, creative writing, art, etc. For example, the role playing cards can be placed in the language arts center. The purpose of the role playing activities are to sensitize students to the needs of minority students, to solve problems and to role play every day situations. A teacher or an aide must be at this center to direct the activities.

The teacher's guide provides background information, the scripts of the three filmstrips, concepts to be taught, pre/post viewing suggestions, a sample lesson plan and resources.

The curriculum kit can be used in a number of curriculum areas – social studies, reading, language arts. For example, in social studies, the materials can be used as a series for understanding different ethnic groups in San Francisco. It can also be used in cross cultural comparisons, first studying about one group and then discovering the similarities and differences with other groups. The materials can be used in social studies units about the family, neighborhood, San Francisco, California, United States, immigration, etc.

In the development of the instructional materials, the project staff worked directly with students, teachers and parents. From these consultations, initial materials were developed. These initial materials were then presented to the Community Advisory Committee, to the Project Board, to teachers and to the different communities for previewing. In addition, the instructional materials were field tested in the San Francisco schools.

Reception of the curriculum materials on Chinese Americans has been favorable. All of the teachers field testing the materials rated them as being:

– complete
– correct
– authentic
– well organized
– current

In addition, most of the teachers rated the instructional materials as good in:

– appearance
– interest
– clarity
– readability

At each preview session of the initial instructional materials, the viewers evaluated our materials. On a rating scale of 1-5, with 1 being poor and 5 being excellent, the overall rating for the curriculum materials showed a mean rating of 4.1. The ratings above 4.1 were in the areas of accuracy and content and technical qualities of the sound filmstrips.

From these previews and from teachers field testing our materials, the instructional materials were then revised to better their content, interest and suitability for elementary grade students.

In November 1975, the "Curriculum Kit for Understanding Chinese Americans" was adopted by the San Francisco Unified School District's Curriculum Committee. Subsequently, seven sets of the curriculum kits were then given to San Francisco Unified School District and one set was given to the community.

It is hoped that this "Curriculum Kit for Understanding Chinese Americans" would help others to increase their knowledge of Chinese Americans, thereby leading to better intergroup relations. Students after using the kit should know that:

- Chinese Americans are Americans.
- Because of their cultural heritage, Chinese Americans do many things that are different from, as well as similar to other Americans.
- Chinese immigrants who come to America encounter problems but they try to solve them because they intend to establish a new life.
- There are many things to be learned about the history of Chinese Americans and other Americans in this country.

It is to be understood that the three filmstrips in the curriculum kit are by no means the life styles of all Chinese Americans. Rather, they are only three life styles out of many life styles of Chinese Americans. Experiences of Chinese Americans are very similar to the experiences of other Americans.

2:45- 3:00 p.m.

3:00- 4:00 p.m. Open Forum; Acknowledgments; Resolutions. Closing.

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